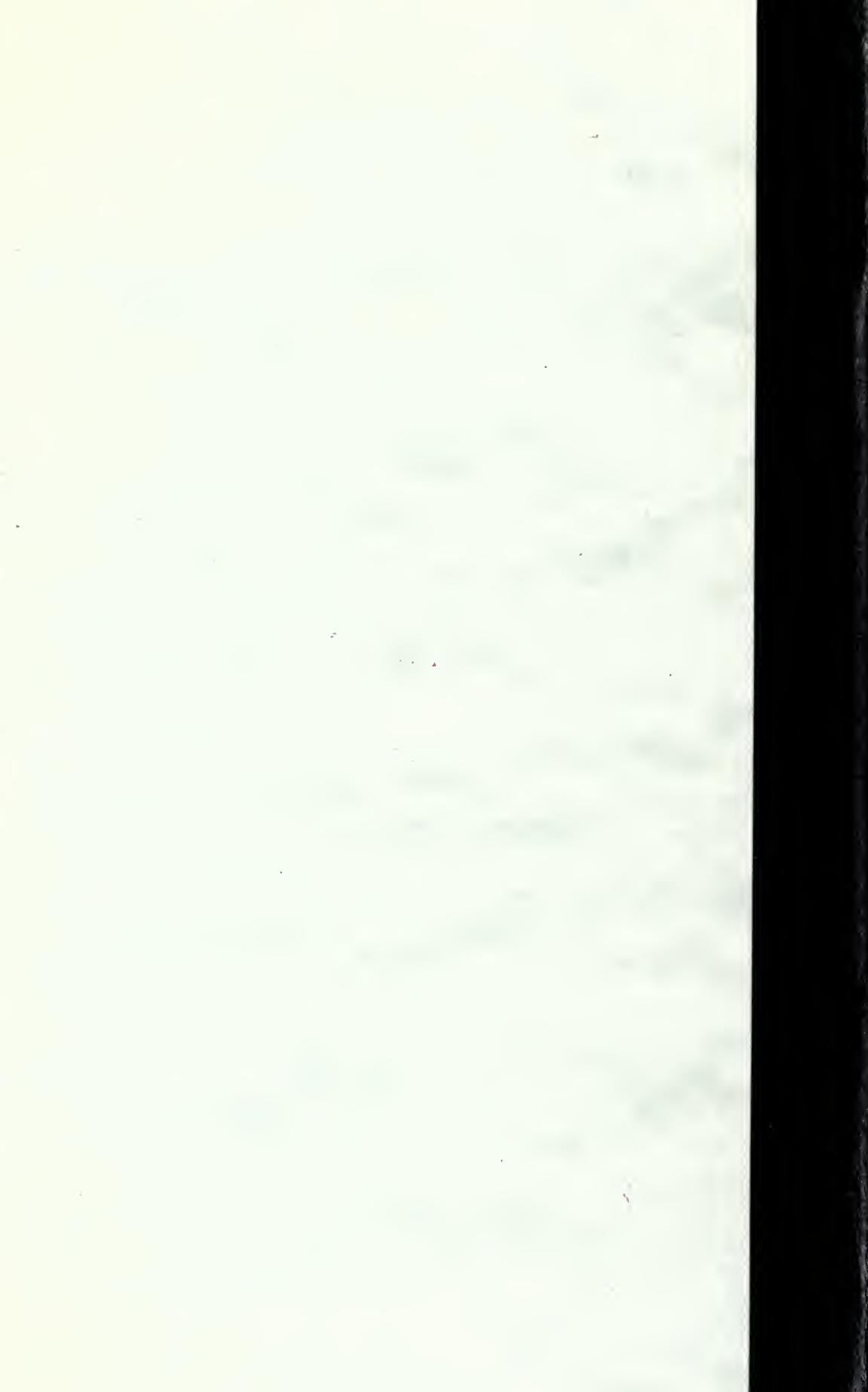


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## Anthropology

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### The Noice Collection of Copper Inuit Material Culture

James W. VanStone

February 28, 1994  
Publication 1455

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## Information for Contributors to Fieldiana

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### The Noice Collection of Copper Inuit Material Culture

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# The Noice Collection of Copper Inuit Material Culture

James W. VanStone

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## Abstract

The collections of the Field Museum of Natural History contain 234 ethnographic objects collected among the Copper Inuit of the Northwest Territories, Canada, in 1919–1921 by Harold Noice. The artifacts in this collection are described and illustrated. For comparative purposes, information is included from previous studies of Copper Inuit material culture, notably those of Stefansson (1914), Birket-Smith (1945), and Jenness (1946).

## I. Introduction

### Copper Inuit Territory and Environment

The Copper Inuit are the westernmost of the Central Inuit, a grouping that also includes the Netsilik and Iglulik.<sup>1</sup> The western boundary of the aboriginal Copper Inuit territory on the mainland of Canada was at Wise Point near the western entrance to Dolphin and Union Strait (Stefansson, 1913, p. 167). To the northwest their territory included the southeast coast of Banks Island and to the south the eastern edge of Great Bear Lake as well as Contwoyo Lake and Beechey Lake on the Back River (Stefansson, 1914, p. 260; Rasmussen, 1932, p. 119). In the east Perry River in Queen Maud Gulf was the boundary between the territory of the Copper Inuit and the Netsilik. The Copper Inuit hunted over much of Victoria Island but, according to Damas (1984, p. 397), concentrated their travel and occupation to the area south of Walker Bay to the west and Denmark Bay to the east (fig. 1).

Most of the area occupied by the Copper Inuit is tundra, but it reached wooded areas along the

western and southern margins and the Coppermine River. The area as a whole has an arctic climate with mean temperatures in February ranging from  $-20^{\circ}\text{F}$  to  $-28^{\circ}\text{F}$ . In July the mean ranges in the high 40s over most of the area. Precipitation is light with snow falling in spring and fall, winter blizzards shifting the snow according to the direction of the wind. A continuous ice sheet covers the straits and gulfs of the Copper Inuit region from late October or November until July, and lakes have an ice cover even longer. The sun disappears for at least two months each winter, while in summer it does not set for an equal period. As might be expected, these yearly environmental changes had an important effect on the aboriginal Inuit subsistence cycle (Damas, 1984, p. 397).

### Subsistence

The aboriginal Copper Inuit abandoned their villages of snow houses on the ice in late May and moved to land. Although caribou (*Rangifer articus*) migrated on the ice of Dolphin and Union Strait and Dease Strait, they were not hunted to any great extent in spring (Jenness, 1922, p. 123). Similarly, seals were seldom hunted, when they basked on the ice in spring or in open water in summer (Stefansson, 1913, p. 205). From late May until November the most important sources of food were caribou, fish, waterfowl, and small game.

<sup>1</sup> The designation "Copper Inuit" is a historical term assigned by outsiders because of the regional exploitation of copper deposits. In most of the literature, the Copper Inuit are referred to as "Eskimo." The term "Inuit," the people's name for themselves, is used here to conform with general usage in Canada at the present time.

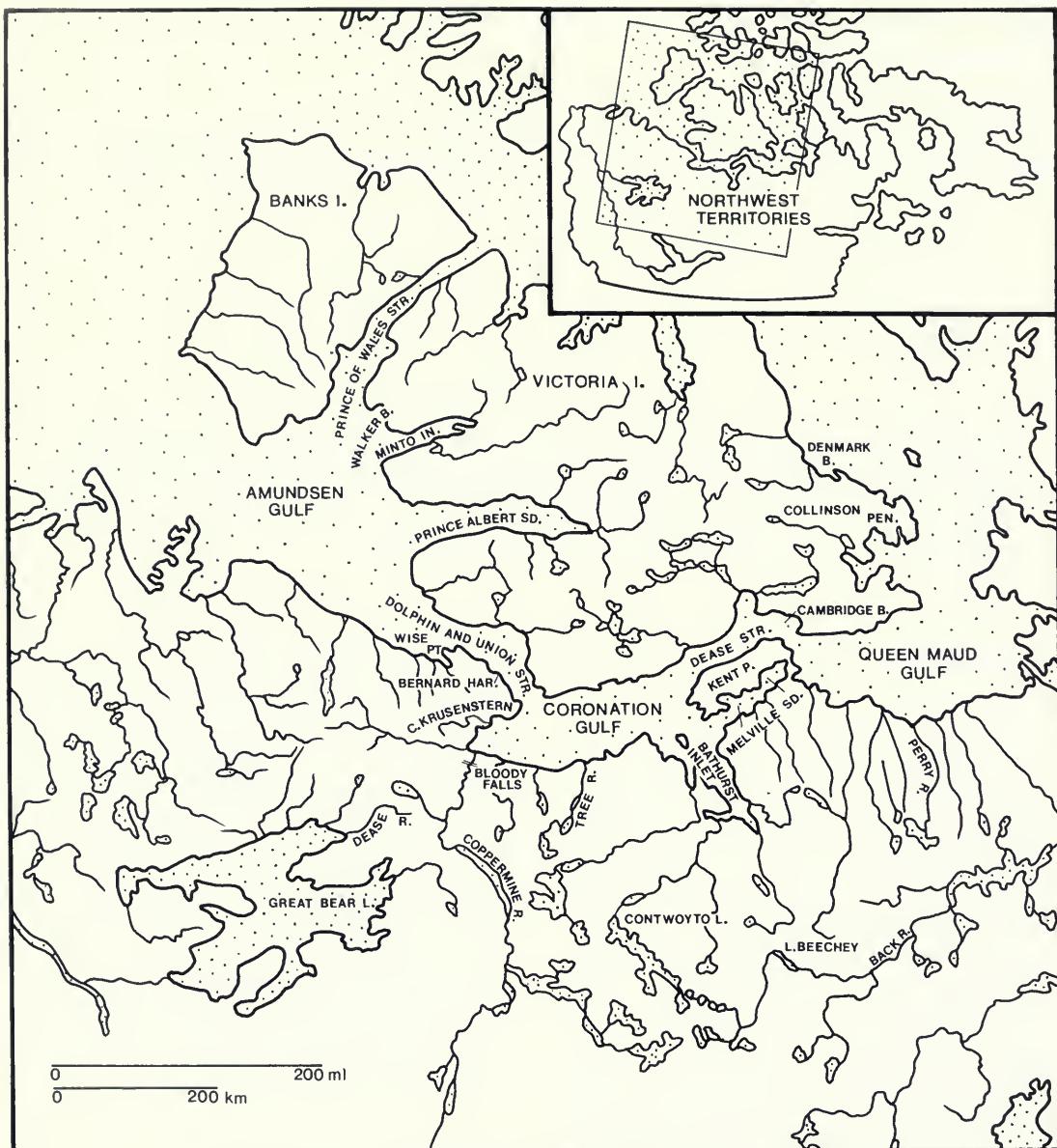


FIG. 1. Map of Copper Inuit territory. (Adapted from Damas, 1980, p. 398, fig. 1.)

Dependence on caribou or fish varied according to the season as well as the locale. Fishing through the ice in lakes was more important in spring and early summer, and it was not until late August that caribou hunting became the most important activity since beginning at this time the skins were most suitable for clothing. Fishing from weirs in streams was also a late summer activity, particularly important on southeastern Victoria Island, while caribou hunting was emphasized on the mainland from Bathurst Inlet to Perry River (Jen-

ness, 1922, pp. 122-124; Rasmussen, 1932, pp. 76-77).

The preferred method for taking caribou was to drive them between rows of stones set in converging lines to resemble men. Women and children chased the caribou toward hunters, who killed them with bows and arrows or lances. Caribou were also hunted with lances from kayaks as they swam in lakes at traditional crossing places (Jenness, 1922, pp. 148-149).

Jigging through the ice for lake trout (*Salvelinus*

*namaycush*) and spearing salmon trout (*Salvelinus alpinus*) in weirs in late summer were important activities for men, women, and children. Also in summer, ptarmigan (*Lagopus* sp.) and several species of ducks and geese were taken with bow and arrow as well as snares (Jenness, 1922, p. 152).

For two weeks or a month in November the Copper Inuit were idle, living for the most part on food previously stored in caches. There was some jigging for fish in lakes, but the primary activity was the sewing of winter garments by women.

Breathing hole hunting for seals was the most important activity from December to May. Using dogs to sniff out the breathing holes, each hunter waited quietly at a hole for the seal to come up for a breath. The common ringed seal (*Phoca hispida*) was the most frequently killed, but bearded seals (*Erignathus barbatus*) were also taken occasionally. Polar bears (*Thalarctos maritimus*) were a significant prey for those Copper Inuit who wintered off the coast of Banks Island (Stefansson, 1914, p. 30). Bears were held at bay with dogs and killed with lances. Musk oxen (*Ovibosa moschatus*) were the most numerous around Bathurst Inlet, but small herds were present throughout the territory (Damas, 1984, p. 398).

## Settlement Patterns

Copper Inuit population estimates for the aboriginal or early contact period include a census taken by Rasmussen (1932, p. 30) that produced a total of 816 individuals. This number compares favorably with Jenness's estimate of 700 or 800 (Jenness, 1922, p. 22) but is smaller than Stefansson's 1,100 (Stefansson, 1914, pp. 25-40). Since neither Stefansson nor Jenness had contact with the eastern group of Copper Inuit, Damas (1984, p. 400) believes that Rasmussen's figures are the most accurate for the entire area.

Damas (1969; 1972; 1984, pp. 398-400) has demonstrated how the patterning of Copper Inuit population aggregation was related to the seasonal round of subsistence activities. He distinguished three types of settlement for the aboriginal period. From May to November the groups varied considerably in size and composition. Sometimes the nuclear family comprised the local group, particularly when resources were limited and people depended on fishing and the hunting of small game. Groups were larger when caribou were plentiful, and the largest summer aggregations occurred at the fishing weirs for salmon trout.

A more stable form of aggregation occurred in late fall for a period of two weeks to a month, referred to as the sewing place gatherings when women were sewing winter garments. Damas (1984, p. 400) believes there were 16 to 18 of these sewing groups, which averaged between 45 and 50 people.

The third type of population aggregation was the winter seal hunting village on the ice. Larger groups were necessary during the winter because a large number of seal breathing holes in any given area had to be covered by the hunters. Each winter the total population was assembled in between seven and nine aggregates ranging in size from 91 to 117 individuals.

Although it seems possible to identify these three types of settlements, it is not possible to equate the group names obtained by various investigators with this classification. Damas (1984, p. 401) believes that the closest correspondence geographically is with the large summer hunting region, and he lists in tabular form the group designations for this period as determined by Stefansson (1914, pp. 26-32), Jenness (1922, pp. 33-41), and Rasmussen (1932, pp. 7, 69-70, 76-77).

## History of Contact

The first explorer to reach the country of the Copper Inuit was Samuel Hearne, who traveled overland from Prince of Wales Fort on Hudson Bay to the mouth of the Coppermine River in 1771 with a party of Chipewyan Indians. Just below Bloody Falls near the mouth of the river, they surprised a band of Copper Inuit who were camped there and killed all of them (Hearne, 1958, ch. VI).

In 1819 Captain (later Sir John) Franklin commanded an expedition dispatched to explore the coast east of the Coppermine River. On June 14, 1821, he reached the lower Coppermine and, like Hearne, encountered Copper Inuit camped at Bloody Falls. They told Franklin that they came to the mouth of the river in June and July to fish and then spent the winter in snow houses. Franklin had hoped to obtain information from them concerning the country to the east but was unsuccessful (Franklin, 1824, vol. 2, pp. 169-183). Franklin's party proceeded by boat along the coast, charting and naming features in Coronation Gulf, Bathurst Inlet, and Melville Sound as far as Turnagain Point on the north shore of Kent Peninsula. The party encountered a number of abandoned

Inuit camps but did not see any people (Franklin, 1824, vol. 2, pp. 201, 223–224, 229).

Captain George Back encountered a small party of Copper Inuit fishing when he descended the river that bears his name in 1833. Beads were exchanged for items of native manufacture (Back, 1836, pp. 379–388). In the summers of 1838 and 1839 Peter Dease and Thomas Simpson explored the coast from the mouth of the Coppermine River to beyond Back River. Inuit were met near the mouth of the Coppermine in 1838, but little information was obtained from them (Simpson, 1843, pp. 262–264, 345–351).

In 1851, John Rae, as part of the search for Sir John Franklin's third expedition, explored the coast of the mainland from near Cape Krusenstern to Cape Alexander on Kent Peninsula and the south coast of Victoria Island from Cambridge Bay to Pelly Point on the Collinson Peninsula. He encountered a number of Copper Inuit who maintained that they had never before been in communication with Europeans (Rae, 1852a, p. 78; 1852b, p. 84).

Another Franklin search expedition involved HMS *Investigator* under the command of Robert M'Clure and HMS *Enterprise* commanded by Richard Collinson, who conducted their search by way of Bering Strait between 1850 and 1855. In 1851 one of M'Clure's sledge parties encountered Inuit near Berkeley Point at the southern entrance to Prince of Wales Strait between Victoria Island and Banks Island (Osborn, 1865, pp. 145–147). Meanwhile Collinson, in the winter of 1851–1852, observed more Copper Inuit than any previous explorer. In Walker Bay some 50 Inuit constructed their snow houses near the *Enterprise*. The following winter he also met Inuit in Cambridge Bay at the southeastern end of Victoria Island (Collinson, 1889, pp. 171–173, 248–251).

For the next 50 years, no explorers visited the land of the Copper Inuit. In 1902 David T. Hanbury, traveling from the mouth of the Back River along the coast of the Coppermine River, encountered Copper Inuit. His account of his journey (Hanbury, 1904, ch. XI) and the people he met was considered by Stefansson (1913, pp. 249–250) and Jenness (1922, pp. 30–31) to be the most valuable description of the Copper Inuit and the country they inhabited up to that time.

A Danish trader, Captain Christian Klengenberg, traveling from the west in a small schooner, spent the winter of 1905–1906 in the vicinity of Cape Kendall on Victoria Island at the entrance

to Dolphin and Union Strait. In early spring he met a party of Prince Albert Sound Inuit that camped near his ship for three days. Klengenberg was followed two years later by Captain Joseph Bernard, who remained in the country of the Copper Inuit for three years, wintering the first year a few miles east of the Coppermine River, the second in Bernard Harbor, and the third near Cape Kendall on Victoria Island (Jenness, 1922, p. 31). These pioneer traders were followed by an influx of goods brought by trading ships from the west. A Hudson's Bay Company post was established at Bernard Harbor in 1916 and a number of additional trading posts in the Coronation Gulf area in the early 1920s (Usher, 1971, pp. 101–105; Damas, 1984, p. 408). It was these trading ventures that were primarily responsible for changes in Copper Inuit material culture, economy, and social organization.

Missionary activity in Copper Inuit country was limited after the first Roman Catholic priests were killed by Inuit near Bloody Falls in 1913. The Rev. H. Girley of the Church of England entered the area in 1915 and established good relations with the Inuit of both Dolphin and Union Strait and Coronation Gulf (Jenness, 1922, p. 31). The Royal Canadian Mounted Police established a post at Tree River in the early 1920s (Rasmussen, 1932, p. 61–65).

## Previous Ethnographic Research

The noted explorer and ethnographer Vilhjalmur Stefansson first went north in 1906–1907 for the purpose of studying the so-called “blond eskimos” of Victoria Island. As it turned out, he spent most of a year along the arctic coast from Flaxman Island to the mouth of Mackenzie River, where he had extensive interaction with the Mackenzie Inuit (Stefansson, 1922).

While engaged in his first arctic experience, Stefansson was already planning a second expedition. The information that quickened his interest in further exploration was obtained from the Mackenzie Inuit who told him that they were unaware of the existence of any people east of Bathurst Inlet (Stefansson, 1913, pp. 1–3). In 1910, traveling by sledge along the coast, Stefansson visited the Inuit of Dolphin and Union Strait and west Coronation Gulf, then continued up the Coppermine River to Great Bear Lake. The following year he returned and

visited the natives of Prince Albert Sound. This second Stefansson expedition resulted in considerable new knowledge relating to traveling and survival techniques, physical geography, and the first detailed information on the culture of the Copper Inuit (Stefansson, 1913; 1914).

Stefansson's first two trips to the Canadian arctic were preliminary to a major expedition undertaken between 1913 and 1918 sponsored by the Canadian government. Its purpose was to carry out a wide variety of geographical exploration and scientific work in the western Canadian arctic. Stefansson divided the Canadian Arctic Expedition into two parties. The first, the Northern Division under his command, had geographical discovery as its main objective. The other part, the Southern Division, led by Rudolph Martin Anderson and accompanied by the anthropologist Diamond Jenness, was to carry out scientific work in the vicinity of Coronation Gulf.

In 1914 the Southern Division established its headquarters in Bernard Harbor on Dolphin and Union Strait, and during the winter Jenness began studies of the Inuit in the region. In April 1915 he set out for southwestern Victoria Island and remained with the Copper Inuit there until November when he returned to Bernard Harbor. The Southern Division completed its work in July 1916, and the party reached Nome in mid-August (Cooke and Holland, 1978, pp. 335–338).

Although, as previously noted, the Copper Inuit had been contacted sporadically by explorers and members of Franklin search expeditions in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Canadian Arctic Expedition was working in essentially unexplored country, making detailed geographic surveys for the first time and studying Inuit whose traditional cultures were virtually intact. The Coronation Gulf region was perhaps the only area of North America where trained ethnologists accompanied an expedition into virtually unexplored territory. A popular account of the work of the Northern Division was published by Stefansson (1921), while Jenness published a detailed ethnography of the Copper Inuit (1922), a study of their physical characteristics (1923), a popular account of his work with the Southern Division (1928), and a study of Copper Inuit material culture (1946). The collection of 2,500 objects on which the latter study is based are in the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa (S. E. Jenness, 1991, p. 697). Harold Noice, a member of Stefansson's Northern Division party for

two years, assembled the collection that is described in this study.

### **Harold Noice and the Canadian Arctic Expedition**

Harold Noice, a high school dropout from Seattle, went north in the summer of 1915 to meet a friend in Nome, Alaska, where they intended to make a motion picture; he was 19 years old. The friend never appeared and, stranded in Nome, Noice joined the crew of the *Polar Bear*, a whaling and trading ship that made its way east to Herschel Island where it was purchased, in the late summer of 1915, by Stefansson for use by the Northern Division of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. In early September, at Cape Kellett on Banks Island, Noice was hired by Stefansson as a sledge man for winter travel, and he traveled with him on Banks Island during the winter of 1915–1916. Later in the winter and spring he took part in sledge travel north of Melville Island, and on June 15, 1916, he was the first to go ashore on the newly discovered Meighen Island at latitude 80°N (Stefansson, 1921, pp. 395, 442ff, 494–495, 518–519; Noice, 1924).

At Cape Bathurst in the early fall of 1917, Noice asked to be discharged from the employ of the Canadian Arctic Expedition and, with two others, purchased a ship from the expedition. His partners were interested in obtaining furs from the Copper Inuit, but Noice wished to complete the mapping, begun by Stefansson's party, of northeastern Victoria Island. He was hoping to reach Coronation Gulf by ship and then go northeastward across Victoria Island by sledge (Stefansson, 1921, pp. 668–669; Noice, 1924).

In the first year Noice's ship was wrecked in winter quarters on the mainland coast of Amundsen Gulf, and this unforeseen event appears to have dissolved the partnership arrangement. During the winters of 1919–1920 and 1920–1921 he lived and traveled with a group of Copper Inuit he referred to as the "Kilinigmium" of southeastern Victoria Island, possibly the group identified as Kiglinirmiut by Jenness (1922, p. 39), who hunted in the region opposite Bathurst Inlet (Stefansson, 1921, p. 669; Anonymous, 1922, p. 12; Noice, 1922b, p. 229). It seems probable that it was among these people that Noice made most of his ethnographic collection since it was here that he traveled exclusively by land.

On his return from the arctic, Noice published two articles relating to research carried out during the previous two winters. In the first he noted that the "Kilinigmium" traveled inland in summer to hunt caribou and met the Inuit of Prince Albert Sound and Minto Inlet for trading and dancing. They in turn spent part of every year on the coast with the "Kilinigmium" (Noice, 1922b, p. 229). In the second article he described briefly his archaeological excavations on the mainland east of the Coppermine River where he discovered pottery fragments and the ruins of earth and wood houses similar to those used in Alaska. In this article he may have been the first to surmise that changed local environmental conditions, resulting in an altered subsistence emphasis, were relevant to the indigenous transition from the prehistoric Thule culture to modern Copper Inuit culture (Noice, 1922a, pp. 611-612), a theory supported by more recent archaeological research in the area (McGhee, 1972; Taylor, 1972).

#### Harold Noice's Ethnographic Collections

According to Stefansson (1925, p. 359), Noice came to New York in the spring of 1922 with a large ethnographic and archaeological collection that he hoped to sell for sufficient funds to allow him to live in the city for a year or two while he wrote a book about his travels. Stefansson told him that he should have no difficulty disposing of his collection to the American Museum of Natural History or the Museum of the American Indian and offered to assist him in his efforts. Much to Stefansson's surprise, however, such a quick and easy disposal of the collection, either in New York or elsewhere, turned out to be impossible. Stefansson noted that eventually limited selections from the collection were sold, but the prices were "inadequate."

On April 24, 1922, as part of Stefansson's initial efforts to assist Noice in disposing of his collection, he wrote to C. T. Currelly, Director of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, enclosing an extensive inventory of archaeological and ethnographic items that Noice hoped to sell. This inventory listed approximately 280 archaeological specimens from Pearce Point on Amundsen Gulf and Point Agiak east of the Coppermine River. About 535 ethnographic objects were also listed, a few of which were obtained on Hepburn Island in Coronation Gulf and on the Kent Peninsula. No provenience was given for most of the ethnographic

material (Royal Ontario Museum [ROM], archives, Dept. of Ethnology).

Commenting on this collection, Stefansson wrote as follows:

I have discussed with Mr. Noice how much he wants for his collection. He says in effect that had he used his trade goods to buy fox skins, he would have secured fox skins enough to give him \$25,000 gross on arriving in Seattle last fall. Of course he has the motive to try to make a scientific man of himself, so he will not be disappointed if he gets much less. . . . Things which he got for nothing are now very costly in Coronation Gulf and in many instances the articles contained in Mr. Noice's collection can never be duplicated. Bows, arrows and stone cooking pots will never again be made excepting for purposes of sale. Mr. Noice secured the last that remained of those actually made for use and actually used. In clothing and various other items changes will now begin to take place rapidly for there are many Western Eskimos among the Copper Eskimos group who will introduce new fashions.

Stefansson went on to suggest that the Royal Ontario Museum may wish to purchase "only a few things," and he especially recommended five bows made of musk ox horn. He suspected that such bows may not have been present in the collection of the Canadian Arctic Expedition in Ottawa and slyly suggested that Currelly inquire of Jenness if this is the case but without mentioning Stefansson's name. If there were none in Ottawa, then the five obtained by Noice would be especially valuable.

It appears that Currelly may not have answered Stefansson's letter, and on September 28, 1922, Noice wrote Currelly that he was willing to break up his collection into small lots. He also mentioned items of special interest such as the "musk ox horn bow and arrow outfit" and "basketry of Bathurst Inlet." Currelly wrote to Noice on October 3 asking, "For how much could we have one bow and bow-repairing outfit, and one adze with musk ox horn handle?" He volunteered the information that "our finances are not in good condition." Three days later Noice answered that "I can let you have one complete musk ox horn bow with seal skin case and seal skin quiver together with 2 bone-tipped, 4 iron-tipped, bone shanked, and 3 copper-tipped arrows, and a complete bow repairing outfit, for \$150.00." He did not mention the adze with a musk ox horn handle. There is no indication that the Royal Ontario Museum purchased any of Noice's collection at this time.

Some time after this correspondence between Currelly and Noice, the latter appears to have sold the entire collection, or at least the ethnographic

objects, to John G. Worth, a Philadelphia dealer with ties to several American museums. On March 1, 1925, Worth wrote to Clark Wissler at the American Museum of Natural History indicating that he had enough for three small collections and inquiring of Wissler whether he knew of someone who might want to purchase a segment of the collection (American Museum of Natural History, archives, Dept. of Anthropology). He apparently received no reply. Worth's further efforts to dispose of the Noice collection can be reconstructed from his correspondence with the Royal Ontario Museum and the Field Museum of Natural History.

Some time prior to May 1, 1925, Worth, possibly at the suggestion of Stefansson or Noice, wrote Currelly, presumably to inquire whether the Royal Ontario Museum might still be interested in acquiring a Copper Inuit collection. Currelly replied on May 1 expressing interest and Worth responded, noting that he had two collections, one for which he was asking \$500.00 and another, larger collection for which he hoped to receive \$1,000.00. Currelly's response may have indicated that he was dubious about spending that much money, and Worth then offered a small collection for \$150.00 to \$200.00. On May 31 Worth wrote Currelly that the Milwaukee Public Museum had agreed to take one collection for \$500.00 and offering a duplicate to the Royal Ontario Museum for \$450.00. He apparently did not receive a favorable reply, and in November, 1925, he sold to the Field Museum of Natural History for \$500.00 the collection that is the subject of this study (Field Museum of Natural History, accession files, Dept. of Anthropology).

Worth apparently wrote Currelly again in early December, 1925, once more offering the Royal Ontario Museum a small collection. On December 11, T. F. McIlwraith, Keeper of the Ethnological Collections, responded that he would like to see the collection on approval, and Worth replied that he was sending his "best \$200 lot." Almost immediately, however, he informed McIlwraith that he did not have a small collection to send but, instead, offered a larger one for \$1,200.00. There the matter stood until January 27, 1927, when Worth wrote Currelly that a transaction he believed he had completed with another museum had fallen through because that institution did not have the money. This was probably the collection that the Milwaukee Public Museum had agreed to purchase and that was then sold to the Field Museum. He now offered what remained of the Noice

collection to Currelly for \$1,000.00. On May 13, 1927, McIlwraith agreed to purchase this collection for the asking price. On May 17 Worth acknowledged the purchase and noted that arrangements had been made for packing and shipping (ROM, archives, Dept. of Ethnology). The collection presently in the Department of Ethnology of the Royal Ontario Museum consists of at least 250 objects (catalog nos. 2585-2837).

It now appears that the Noice collections in the Field Museum of Natural History and the Royal Ontario Museum constitute the entire assemblage of Copper Inuit ethnographic material formerly in the possession of Harold Noice and later sold to John G. Worth. The total number of the two collections equals approximately the number of ethnographic objects listed in the inventory that Stefansson sent Currelly in 1922. The archaeological material listed in that inventory may or may not have been purchased by Worth and its present whereabouts is unknown.

## II. The Collection

In the catalog of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, the Noice collection of Copper Inuit material culture (accession 1628) is assigned 125 catalog numbers representing 244 objects. It was received by the Field Museum on December 8, 1925. Unlike most other ethnographic collections in the museum, this one was cataloged in such a manner that typologically similar artifacts, instead of receiving separate catalog numbers, were frequently assigned alphabetical subdesignations of single numbers. This accounts for the considerable difference between the number of catalog numbers and the number of objects in the collection. At the time this study was begun, 10 objects represented by eight catalog numbers could not be located in storage or on exhibit; they have apparently been lost. Other than the information referred to in the Introduction, there is no documentation accompanying the Noice collection.

Artifacts in the Noice collection are described within the following six use categories: subsistence (land hunting, sea hunting, fishing), tools (women's and men's), household equipment, clothing (men's and women's), miscellaneous, and raw material (see Appendix for catalog numbers). Descriptions of the artifacts that follow should be read while examining the accompanying photo-

graphs and drawings. For comparisons I have relied heavily on the publications of Stefansson and Jenness, although other sources are, of course, cited when relevant.

## Subsistence

**LAND HUNTING**—The Noice collection contains three wooden *composite bows* contained in combination bow cases and quivers with arrows. The staves of two reflex bows with bent ends consist of three pieces scarfed together and secured with sinew lashing. The joints are reinforced with flat plates of bone. On one bow a metal sleeve, barely visible through the lashing, covers one scarfed joint. The staves of both bows are rectangular in cross section and of equal thickness their entire length. A bow string of twisted sinew is laid over distinct nocks.

Because the dried spruce driftwood from which these Copper Inuit bows were made has little tensility and breaks easily, back lashings of braided sinew were essential to provide strength. On these two bows approximately 20 strands of braided sinew extend along the back of the stave, are passed around the nocks, and loosely wrapped with rawhide to keep them from slipping over the edge. At the ends the lashing is secured to the stave with a series of half hitches like those illustrated by Murdoch (1884, p. 314, figs. 12–13) and with rawhide wrapping at the grips. Copper Inuit composite bows with similar lashings are described and illustrated by Stefansson (1914, pp. 85–89, fig. 30), Birket-Smith (1945, p. 162, fig. 117d), and Jenness (1946, pp. 122–124, fig. 151). Two rectangular strips of sealskin have been laid under the lashing to increase tension since the lashing invariably loosens with use and changing weather conditions (fig. 2b).

The third bow in the collection, of the simple reflex type, has a rectangular stave of three pieces, the stave having been lengthened by the addition of short tips scarfed to the ends of both limbs and secured with nails and iron rivets. At the grip, which is slightly thicker than the limbs, the stave appears to have split and is reinforced with sinew lashing. Under this lashing there is a strip of sealskin on the inner side and a plate of bone on the outer. The back lashing is combined into two cables held in place in the same manner as characterized in the two previously described bows (fig. 2a). A bow with a three-piece stave collected in 1853 by Collinson is mentioned by Boas (1888, p. 50).

According to Stefansson (1914, p. 85) and Jenness (1922, p. 145), bows were the principal hunting weapon of the Copper Inuit and were in use at the time of their fieldwork. Stefansson (1914, pp. 85, 88–89) noted that those Copper Inuit whose bows were commonly made of driftwood obtained it along the west coast of Banks Island. Bows were also purchased ready-made, especially by the people living on Victoria Island, although even these eastern people sometimes camped at the head waters of the Dease River to obtain wood (Stefansson, 1921, p. 215). In trading among themselves, a seven-inch butcher knife or “number one” steel needle, usually obtained from the Hudson’s Bay Company, was equal in value to a bow with a bow case, quiver, and 15 to 20 arrows in 1910. Families of Copper Inuit who hunted toward Great Bear Lake secured wood for themselves and for trade. These bows were made of green spruce and were roughed out during the summer, allowed to dry, and then either finished with a crooked knife or carried unfinished to the coast in the fall.

Regarding the efficiency of the bow, Stefansson (1914, p. 96) noted,

Tolerable accuracy, such as is needed in shooting birds, is not secured beyond a range of twenty-five or thirty yards. Against caribou the effective range varies with different archers, generally between seventy-five and ninety yards, and is probably not over one hundred. At thirty or forty yards members of our party have repeatedly seen an arrow pass through the thorax or abdomen of an adult caribou and fly several yards beyond.

Interestingly enough, Stefansson believed that the Copper Inuit lost fewer wounded caribou than did the Alaskan Iñupiat hunting with rifles. Jenness (1922, p. 146), on the other hand, had a less favorable opinion of bow accuracy. His informants admitted that the bow was of little use at distances greater than about thirty yards. The Copper Inuit used the Mediterranean release and held the bow almost horizontal (Jenness, 1922, p. 45, fig. 46, 1946, p. 126).

According to Stefansson (1914, p. 88), a Copper Inuit quiver usually contained between 15 and 20 arrows. The three quivers in the Noice collection originally contained a total of 23 arrows, of which five are now missing. The wood shafts of these arrows are circular in cross section and range in length from 56 cm to 69 cm, not including the heads, which are missing from eight specimens. Three shafts are of two pieces joined together with a scarf and lashed with sinew (see Stefansson, 1914,

p. 93, fig. 37). On all the arrows the shafts are widened and flattened slightly at the nocks, which are wrapped with sinew. The nocks are cut parallel to the flattened surface. The fletching is intact on only one arrow, which has two trimmed tangential feathers split in half, probably from a gyrfalcon (*Falco rusticolus*). The barbs have been removed from each end of the vane. At the distal end the spines at the ends of the exposed vanes are held in place by the lashing around the nock (fig. 2e).

Of the ten arrows that have antler arrowheads in place, one is unbarbed with an iron lanceolate blade held in place with a rivet of the same material (fig. 2c). Six arrowheads have two or three barbs along one side toward the proximal end with riveted lanceolate blades, one of copper and the rest iron; one blade has a single spur (fig. 2f). On two complete arrows the arrowheads have metal shanks, one iron and the other copper, terminating in riveted lanceolate blades, one of which has double spurs (fig. 2d,g). A single arrowhead lacks barbs and is flattened and widened at the pointed distal end. Because these arrowheads are hafted, it is not possible to determine the exact shape of the tangs. All of them, however, appear to have sharp shoulders, and the tangs are inserted into the distal ends of the shafts and lashed with sinew. Similar arrowheads are illustrated by Stefansson (1914, pp. 88–89, 91, figs. 32–33, 35). Complete arrows like those in the Noice collection are illustrated by Cadzow (1920, pl. X) and Birket-Smith (1945, p. 164, fig. 118).

In addition to the complete arrows there are 14 *arrow shaft fragments* in the collection ranging from 15.5 cm to 19 cm. Three of these are parts of scarfed shafts and four have feather fragments attached. On one of these the fragments are probably gyrfalcon feathers, but the others, badly deteriorated, cannot be identified. Six shaft fragments include the nocks. Two are flattened at the proximal end and all are wrapped with sinew.

There are 14 antler *arrowheads* in the collection ranging in length from 22 cm to 33 cm and mostly similar to those previously described on the complete arrows. Twelve have one to six barbs along one side and sharp shoulders with barbed conical tangs (fig. 3a–c,f). Two lack barbs and have sloping shoulders with wedge-shaped tangs (fig. 3d–e). One of these consists of two sections spliced and fastened together with iron rivets (fig. 3d). Twelve have lanceolate blades of iron attached with iron or copper rivets (fig. 3b,d–f), one of which has a single spur (fig. 3d). One arrowhead is pointed at the distal end and lacks a blade (fig. 3c), while

another has a bone blade attached with a copper rivet (fig. 3a).

The three bows and 18 complete or nearly complete arrows in the collection were kept in *bow cases* of dark, depilated sealskin shaped to the form of the weapon. One end is closed and the other left open for some distance down its curved edge to receive the bow. A quiver is attached to each bow case along its straight edge with strips of sealskin. On all three bow cases a tool bag is sewn to the quiver with sinew in such a manner that when the whole assemblage was worn on the back, the quiver covered the tool bag, preventing its contents from falling out (Jenness, 1922, p. 147, fig. 47). One case has a sealskin carrying strap attached with a pair of toggles similar to those illustrated by Jenness (1946, p. 129, fig. 160a). The carrying strap on the second case is attached with round antler buttons. The third case lacks a carrying strap. On each case there is a curved antler handle with rounded or pointed ends attached to the straight edge of the bow case so that it could also be carried in the hand. On the outside of two cases are attached a pair of bone “wings” about 8 cm in length for pinning through the wings of small birds, especially ptarmigan (Birket-Smith, 1945, p. 168, fig. 122d; Jenness, 1946, p. 129, fig. 161). A pair of small toggles and a handle for carrying bags of blood are also attached to one bow case (Jenness, 1946, p. 130, fig. 162). The best preserved of the three bow cases in the collection is illustrated (fig. 4). Similar bow cases, quivers, and tool bags are described and/or illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 87, fig. 31), Rasmussen (1932, p. 94), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 163–164, fig. 117), and Jenness (1946, pp. 126–129, fig. 157).

The collection contains three *bow case handles*, one of antler and two of ivory, similar to those on the complete cases. They are curved and pointed at each end with paired lashing slots for attachment to the straight edge of the bow case (fig. 31). An identical handle, ornamented with incised lines, is illustrated by Jenness (1946, p. 128, fig. 158).

A *thumb guard*, used when shooting with the bow, is an oblong, curved piece of bone with rounded ends. On each side is a hole for the skin thong, which fastens the guard to the thumb (fig. 3i). Similar Copper Inuit thumb guards are described and/or illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 97, fig. 42) and Birket-Smith (1945, p. 168, fig. 121). According to Birket-Smith, thumb guards were not used by the neighboring Netsilik.

The collection contains four sets of bow tools, which include a pair of *marlin spikes* and a pair

of *sinew twisters*. The marlin spikes, which range in length from 17.5 cm to 24 cm, are made of bone, are wedge-shaped at the distal end, and have handles that are either curved or grooved for the fingers; there are small holes just below the handles (figs. 3k, 5c,h). According to Jenness (1946, p. 129), the holes enabled the marlin spikes to be lashed in pairs since two were necessary to unfasten and tighten the sinew backing of the bow. The sinew twisters are all the same size, made of bone, and turned up at the ends in opposite directions. They have holes in the center and are used in pairs to tighten or loosen the sinew backing on bows (fig. 3g-h,j). Stefansson (1914, p. 94, fig. 39a) illustrated marlin spikes and sinew twisters lashed together like those in the Noice collection.

In addition to the sets of bow tools just described, the collection contains two additional marlin spikes that are similar to those in the sets. Jenness (1946, p. 129) noted that some marlin spikes closely resemble marrow extractors except for their heavier construction and were sometimes used for extracting marrow. In addition to the set illustrated by Stefansson, Copper Inuit marlin spikes and sinew twisters are also illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, p. 169, fig. 122e-f) and Jenness (1946, pp. 129-130, figs. 163-164).

A large iron *lance blade*, leaf-shaped with a rectangular tang, was probably used with a caribou lance (fig. 5c). Such a lance blade may have been hafted directly to the wooden shaft or have had a fixed foreshaft of antler like a lance illustrated by Jenness (1946, p. 135, fig. 175). According to Jenness (1946, p. 135) and Stefansson (1914, p. 84), lances were used only for spearing caribou from a kayak.

The collection contains two antler *arrow shaft straighteners*. The hole through which the arrow shaft is passed is beveled on both sides. One straightener has a pair of parallel engraved lines just below the hole (fig. 5d). Similar straighteners are described and/or illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 96, fig. 40) and Jenness (1946, p. 134, fig. 172).

According to Jenness (1946, p. 132), hunters collected the blood of caribou in the pouch-shaped reticulum of the animal's stomach. Bone pins, carried in the tool bag attached to the quiver, were used to close this pouch. The collection contains three pairs of *bone pins*, pointed at the end to penetrate the reticulum without tearing a hole, and with knobs at the other end, fastened together with sinew below the knobs (fig. 5f). Similar pins are

illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 94, fig. 39d) and Jenness (1946, p. 132, fig. 167).

*Handles for carrying blood bags* were grooved to fit the fingers and fitted with a short strip of plaited sinew. The collection contains three, one with an ivory handle (fig. 5a), the second with an antler handle, and the third with a handle of musk ox horn. Jenness (1946, p. 129, fig. 162, p. 130) noted that these handles were sometimes kept in the tool bag, but more often were attached to the outside of the quiver or bow case. It will be recalled that a similar handle is attached to one of the bow case/quivers in the collection. Handles for carrying blood bags are illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, p. 171, fig. 126).

According to Jenness (1946, p. 135), the Copper Inuit used neither the sling nor the bolas. Nevertheless, the collection contains a *bolas* with six bone balls attached to narrow strips of sealskin wrapped at the proximal end with sinew (fig. 5b).

Jenness (1946, p. 132, fig. 171, p. 133) noted that hunters often carried a *drinking tube* made from the hollow leg bone of a bird, usually a swan (*Olor columbianus*), in the tool bag. The collection contains one such drinking tube that is unmodified except for straight cuts at the ends (fig. 5g).

**SEA HUNTING**—As among other Central Inuit, the toggle harpoon was the principal seal hunting weapon. Although hunters occasionally tried to crawl near seals basking on the ice in spring and fall, this type of hunting was rare until rifles were obtained. Thus the most important seal hunting was at the animals' breathing holes in winter (Jenness, 1946, p. 115) and the small amount of seal hunting equipment in the Noice collection is related entirely to that activity.

The collection contains a single antler *harpoon head* with a short length of sealskin line attached. It has a closed socket, a single spur, and the distal end is worked to a point at right angles to the line hole; there is no blade. The implement is grooved between the line hole and the socket and sinew is wrapped around the groove (fig. 6f). This harpoon head does not resemble those illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 172-173, figs. 128-129) and Jenness (1946, pp. 116-117, figs. 140-141), all of which have metal blades. Harpoon heads without inserted blades are described by Taylor (1974, pp. 86-87) for the Netsilik.

A set of eight antler harpoon heads strung on a length of sealskin line are described in the catalog as "unfinished." It is difficult, however, to see how they could be finished further since each is care-

fully worked to a flattened point at the distal end at right angles to the line hole and has a closed socket with a single spur (fig. 6e).

An unusual artifact is a *bag with harpoon head*. The narrow bag, made of several small pieces of depilated caribou hide sewn with sinew, is pointed at one end and has a pair of loops at the other. A third loop on one side has a length of braided sinew extending from it. Attached to one of the end loops with sinew is a small bone button and a plug-shaped piece of wood. Accompanying the bag is an antler harpoon head with a single spur, closed socket, and iron blade held in place with a copper rivet (fig. 7). The harpoon head was in the bag, point down, with the wood plug in the socket. The function of the bone button is unclear, but it may have been used in combination with the wood plug as a fastener to prevent the head getting lost in the snow if it were to fall from the open top of the bag.

A single antler *ice pick*, slightly curved and pointed at the distal end with a long, narrow tang, was lashed to the proximal end of the harpoon shaft (fig. 8f). It enabled the harpoon to be planted upright in the snow and was used to enlarge a seal's breathing hole after the animal was harpooned.

The collection contains two *breathing hole scoops* used for clearing the snow from around the breathing hole of a seal. Each has a slightly curved handle, antler on one scoop and musk ox horn on the other, and bowls of the latter material. The two parts are spliced with a V-shaped notch and lashed with sealskin from which, on one scoop, protrudes a small skin strap for hanging the scoop on the back of the hunter's coat (fig. 6b). On the other the strap is fastened to the handle just above the splice (fig. 6a). The handles on both scoops are tapered to a rounded point with which, according to Birket-Smith (1945, p. 174) and Jenness (1946, p. 119), the hunter stabbed the eye of the seal when it was brought to the surface. Similar scoops are illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, p. 174, fig. 132), Jenness (1946, p. 119, fig. 144), and Cadzow (1920, pl. IXc). Breathing hole scoops of the same type were also used by the Netsilik (Taylor, 1974, pp. 90-91).

Dogs were used to sniff out a seal's breathing hole and the collection contains a *swivel for leading a dog* to the sealing ground. It consists of a flat, rectangular piece of antler with a hole in the center for a knobbed swivel of bone. A broad sealskin strap is attached at both ends of the flat antler piece and a short strip of the same material runs

from the swivel with a small toggle at the end. The strap fitted over the hunter's wrist and the toggle was buttoned into a loop on the dog's harness (fig. 8c). A similar swivel is described and illustrated by Jenness (1946, p. 122, fig. 149).

The collection contains five *seal indicators* of ivory consisting of a long needle-like rod, at the top of which is a drilled eyelet of musk ox horn. A short length of sinew leads from the eyelet to paired holes in the center of a shorter rod. Originally a small bone disc would have been fitted to the lower end of the long rod (fig. 9g). According to Jenness (1922, p. 113), when the hunter, with the aid of his dog, located a breathing hole, the long rod was pushed down the hole and allowed to rest against the snow at the side of the hole, which kept it from falling. The shorter rod was pegged into the snow. The slightest disturbance below the hole caused the long rod to dip but the short rod kept it from being lost in the hole. Seal indicators of the needle type are described and/or illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 49, fig. 2), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 174-175, fig. 133), Jenness (1946, p. 199, fig. 144), and Cadzow (1920, pp. 16-17, pl. IXa) and for the Netsilik by Taylor (1974, pp. 91-92).

*Seal hooks* are represented in the collection by the distal ends of three specimens contained together in a caribou skin bag. The shaft sections of these hooks are of wood and slope at the proximal end with a lashing knob for the splice. At the distal end of two, heavy pieces of bone are spliced to the shaft and lashed with sealskin. A heavy iron hook protrudes from this bone piece (fig. 6c). On the third specimen the iron hook is lashed directly to the shaft section with sealskin (fig. 6d). The bag containing these hooks is made from two irregularly shaped pieces of caribou skin sewn with sinew (fig. 6g). Seal hooks like these have not been described for the Copper Inuit, but Mathiassen (1928, p. 42, fig. 15, p. 44) described and illustrated a similar device from the Iglulik. When hafted to a wood shaft, they may have been used to drag the seal from its hole.

**FISHING**—Jenness (1922, p. 152) noted that the fishing equipment of the Copper Inuit was very simple. Until relatively recent times, they had no nets. Lake trout, salmon trout, and tomcod (*Microgadus proximus*) were taken with hook and line or speared with leisters.

There were two forms of *leisters*, both of which are present in the Noice collection. The first, represented by two examples, resembles a trident;

they are complete except for most of the long wood shaft. The side prongs are of antler, asymmetrically barbed on both sides, cut for splicing at the proximal end on the outer side, and with a lashing knob. The center prong is symmetrically barbed on both sides, probably spatulate-shaped at the proximal end, and is fitted into a slot at the distal end of the shaft. All three prongs are lashed to the shaft with braided sinew (fig. 8a–b).

In addition to these nearly complete trident leisters, the collection contains five leister *side prongs* and a single *center prong* of antler. Two of the side prongs have, in addition to the lashing knob, notches at the proximal end to improve the haft (fig. 9c,e). The center prong is spatulate-shaped at the proximal end and scored as an aid to hafting (fig. 9d). Similar trident leisters and prongs are described and illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 178–179, fig. 138a) and Jenness (1946, pp. 111–112, fig. 134b). According to Birket-Smith (1945, p. 178), this form of leister was also used by the Netsilik.

The second leister form is represented in the collection by two side prongs of musk ox horn, curved and fitted on the inside at the distal end with barbs of copper. At the proximal end they are cut for splicing on the inner side with a lashing knob on the outer side. Sealskin lashing is present on one prong (fig. 8g). The center prong for this form of leister was usually of antler and similar to those on the trident leisters. Similar leisters of this second form are described and/or illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 83, fig. 27), Cadzow (1920, pl. II) and Jenness (1946, pp. 178–179, figs. 137, 138b) and for the Netsilik by Taylor (1974, p. 83, pl. 9). According to Jenness (1946, p. 111), the trident leister was preferred for migrating salmon trout that entered weirs constructed across streams, while the second leister form was used with a fish decoy to spear lake trout and salmon trout in lakes.

Fishing with hook and line by the Copper Inuit is described in detail by Jenness (1922, pp. 152–155, fig. 50). The collection contains one complete *fishing rod and lurehook*. The rod is a straight stick deeply notched at each end to receive the line of plaited sinew. According to Jenness (1946, p. 106), caribou leg sinew was preferred for the line. Fastened to the end of the line is a lurehook with a semicircular antler shank and, at the distal end, a barbless hook of copper. On the flat side of the shank are fastened three vibrating triangular antler plates and three small strips of fringed sealskin that move in the water to attract the fish (fig. 9a). Lurehooks with vibrating decoys were used to jig

for tomcod (Birket-Smith, 1945, p. 184). Fishing rod and lurehook assemblages like the one in the Noice collection are described and illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, p. 180, fig. 139) and Jenness (1946, pp. 106–107, fig. 125).

In addition to the fishing rod and lurehook, the collection contains four *fish hooks*. Three of these, with short hooks and antler shanks, were intended for hafting to an antler or bone extension of some kind as all are cut for splicing at the proximal end. One has a long lashing knob and a hook made from a commercial nail (fig. 9b). The second, with a short copper hook, was hafted with a bone peg, which is still in place (fig. 8d). The third, with an iron hook, has a hole for the hafting peg or rivet (fig. 9f). These hooks were probably used in fishing for lake trout or salmon trout. The fourth fishhook is completely different. The shank is a polar bear's tooth with a commercial barbed iron hook. Strands of cut sealskin are inserted into the tooth in four places to serve as vibrating decoys (fig. 8c). This hook may have been a tomcod jig.

## Tools

**WOMEN'S TOOLS**—The collection contains a single *woman's knife*, which conforms to the general structure of this type of knife among the Copper Inuit. There is a blade of iron that is straight for most of its width but curves slightly at the ends, a handle of musk ox horn, and a tang-like connecting piece of antler attached to the blade with copper rivets and to the handle by being driven through a slot (fig. 10a). Stefansson (1914, p. 98) believed that the woman's knife of the Copper Inuit differed from those of tribes farther west in having blades with straight rather than curved cutting edges, but all the relevant sources describe and illustrate both types (Stefansson, 1914, p. 98, figs. 43–44; Cadzow, 1920, pl. VI; Birket-Smith, 1945, pp. 263–264, pp. 171–172; Jenness, 1946, pp. 80–83, figs. 82, 85). According to Jenness (1946, pp. 82–83), the woman's knife, like other Inuit tools, was operated away from the body so that the user could see what she was cutting. Smaller knives, like the one in the Noice collection, were for cutting and trimming skins while the larger ones were employed for cutting meat.

*Skin scrapers* were used to remove the fat and tissue from skins, and there are three types of scrapers in the Noice collection. Type 1, of which there are two, have handles of pronged antler and iron blades concave on the inner surface with

curved working edges. On one the blade has an iron tang that fits into a groove at the distal end of the handle and is lashed with sinew (fig. 10c). On the second scraper the handle is lengthened slightly by an added piece of antler. The two pieces are spliced together with copper rivets and rivets of the same material fasten the blade to the handle. The proximal end of the handle on this scraper is notched on one side along the prong to fit the fingers. On the inner side of the handle are two circular depressions, which suggest that the implement may have been used as a drill base (fig. 10b). According to Jenness (1946, p. 83), the handles of this type of skin scraper were nearly always forked, the branch prong preventing the hand from sliding forward. Similar skin scrapers are described and/or illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 120, fig. 73), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 209–210, fig. 180c), and Jenness (1946, pp. 83–84, figs. 87–88).

Type 2 skin scrapers, of which there are two in the collection, have wood handles and concave metal blades with curved working edges. The first has a curved wood handle with a depression on the front for the thumb, a groove on the back for the first finger, and grooves on the side for two fingers. The iron blade is fitted into a slot at the distal end of the handle (fig. 11e). The second scraper has a straight wood handle wrapped with a strip of sealskin. The curved blade is of sheet tin that fits around the handle and is lashed with sinew (fig. 10g).

The single type 3 skin scraper is a short section of musk ox horn hollowed out with a curved working edge (fig. 10d).

The collection contains a cut section of antler flat on one side and rounded on the other, which flares at one end. Since it is presumed that a metal blade would have been attached at the flaring end, the object is identified as a possible *scraper handle*, perhaps for a type 2 scraper (fig. 10e).

After scraping, skins were stretched with *skin stretchers*, and there are two types of this implement form in the Noice collection. The first, of which there are three examples, is made from the scapula of a musk ox with the articular surface modified to form a handle that extends out from the left side; the process on the back side has been removed (fig. 10i). Similar skin stretchers are described and illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 120, fig. 74a), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 209–210, fig. 180a), and Jenness (1946, pp. 84–85, fig. 89). Birket-Smith and Stefansson refer to these implements as scrapers.

Type 2 skin stretchers, of which there are two

in the collection, are much thinner. The first is made from the femur of some small animal cut short and split. The condyle has been modified to form a handle (fig. 10h). The second appears to have been made from the split half of the mandible of a musk ox with the unmodified condyle forming the handle (fig. 10f). Similarly shaped stretchers, but made from split caribou femurs, are described and/or illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 120, fig. 74b), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 209–210, fig. 180b), and Jenness (1946, pp. 85–86, fig. 90).

A *needle case*, made from the metacarpal bone of a caribou, is ornamented with incised lines that, according to Jenness (1946, p. 91), are similar to the tattooed lines on women's faces (fig. 11f). Similarly ornamented needle cases are illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 123, fig. 78), Birket-Smith (1945, p. 211, fig. 182b), and Jenness (1946, p. 195, fig. 149a).

The collection contains two *sewing outfits*, each quite distinctive. The first consists of a marrow extractor of musk ox horn to which is attached a narrow strip of sealskin fastened to a bone thimble. A copper needle is run through the sealskin strip and the whole is lashed to the marrow extractor with sinew for making thread (fig. 11j). Copper needles are illustrated by Jenness (1946, p. 93, fig. 99).

Also identified as a sewing outfit is a small, badly deteriorated sealskin bag with loops of sealskin at each end. Attached to one of these loops is a crescent-shaped antler *belt toggle* with a loop of plaited sealskin. A pair of *threading needles*, one of bone and the other of musk ox horn, are inserted through holes in the sealskin bag. Threading needles were used for threading a cord through holes in skin, especially for fastening together the front of a tent above the door (fig. 11a). They are sometimes identical to the pins used for closing a blood bag (Jenness, 1946, p. 96, fig. 103). Jenness (1946, p. 50) noted that women's belt toggles were virtually identical to the toggles used for hauling seals and he believed that a toggle for hauling seals became a belt toggle at the end of the seal hunting season.

Two *thimbles* are made from phalangeal bones of caribou. The upper end is open because only the side of the thimble and not the top was used (fig. 11h). According to Jenness (1946, p. 93), when steel needles were introduced they caused greater wear on the thimbles than the soft copper needles, and metal thimbles were then much in demand. Bone thimbles are illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, p. 211, fig. 181).

*Marrow extractors* were employed to remove

the marrow from the long bones of caribou and musk ox. According to Jenness (1946, pp. 95, 129), they were often attached to needle cases or carried by hunters in the bags that were part of their bow cases. They vary greatly in shape and some are almost identical to marlin spikes except for being of lighter construction and with the hole at the end rather than below the handle. The Noice collection contains three marrow extractors in addition to the one that is part of the sewing outfit previously described. Two are of bone and one of musk ox horn. Two are rounded at the distal end with small drilled holes at the proximal end for attachment to the needle case (fig. 11b-c). The third is spatulate-shaped at the distal end and lacks a drilled line hole (fig. 11d). The proximal ends of all three are notched. An assortment of marrow extractors are illustrated by Jenness (1946, p. 102, fig. 94).

**MEN'S TOOLS**—The typical Inuit *crooked or whittling knife* is represented in the Noice collection by a single example. It has a long antler handle, semicircular in cross section with a curved iron blade that extends well beyond the distal end of the handle and is attached with copper rivets. There is a line hole at the proximal end of the handle and another drilled hole on one side approximately half way along its length for the attachment of a sharpener (fig. 12a). Crooked knives with iron blades are described and illustrated by Stefansson (1914, pp. 104–105, figs. 50–51), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 204–205, fig. 173), and Jenness (1946, pp. 98, 100, figs. 113–114). Jenness (1946, p. 100) described the crooked knife as follows:

The Copper Eskimo held the knife low down with the hand directed inward, and the handle resting along the inner side of the forearm so that it fitted into the curve of the elbow. With the instrument thus pivoted on the elbow the forearm moved as one unit and the wrist remained perfectly still. Smaller whittling knives, even though their handles did not reach the elbow, were held in the same manner.

A *grooving tool* was used for cutting grooves in bone, antler, and horn. The collection contains three such knives with short antler handles and iron blades that are inserted into slots in the handle. The blades are either notched at the end (fig. 11g) or have a short, pointed projection (figs. 11i, 13b). In addition to the complete grooving tools, the collection contains a *grooving tool handle* with the blade slit broken out, presumably indicating that the tool was broken in use (fig. 13e). Grooving

tools are described and/or illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 107, fig. 54), Birket-Smith (1945, p. 205, fig. 174), and Jenness (1946, p. 101, fig. 115).

The collection contains two examples of the ordinary *man's knife* used for flensing and cutting snow. The first knife is the most typical and has a lanceolate iron blade sharp along both edges. Between the blade and the handle is an iron tang inserted into a slot in the distal end of the handle where it is held in place with a copper rivet. The handle shank is of bone and there is a flaring grip of antler, possibly pegged to the shank, but the haft is obscured by rawhide lashing, which begins through a hole in the butt and is wrapped around most of the shank to afford a better grip (fig. 13a). Knives of this type, some with copper blades, are described and/or illustrated by Stefansson (1914, pp. 100–101, figs. 47–49), Cadzow (1920, pl. Vb-c), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 202–203, fig. 170), and Jenness (1946, p. 97, figs. 107, 110).

Early in the 20th century, steel knives of Euro-American manufacture were available to the Copper Inuit, most of which came from Great Bear Lake and regions to the west. The Inuit removed the handles from these knives and re-hafted them according to their own needs, leaving the blade intact (Jenness, 1946, p. 97). The second man's knife in the Noice collection is of this type. The blade has a single sharp edge and bears the maker's name, PUTNAM CUTLERY CO./NEW BRITAIN CONN. U.S.A. The blade is inserted into a slot in a straight antler handle and held in place with an iron rivet; the handle is wrapped in the center with willow root (fig. 13c). Men's knives of this type are described and illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 100, fig. 47), Birket-Smith (1945, p. 202, fig. 169b), and Jenness (1946, p. 97, fig. 110b,e).

The Copper Inuit used the typical three-piece drilling set consisting of a bow, drill shank, and mouthpiece. The collection does not contain a complete set, but there are parts of several sets. Two *drill bows* of caribou rib are drilled at each end for the attachment of a strap of depilated seal-skin (fig. 13g). There are three *drill shanks* of wood rounded at the proximal end for insertion into the mouthpiece. The bits for the three and their methods of hafting are different in each case. On the first, the bit, a long nail, is inserted into a wedge-shaped piece of musk ox horn spliced to the shank and wrapped with sinew (fig. 13f). The second is hafted in a similar fashion, but the wedge-shaped piece is of bone and the bit, a nail, is much shorter.

The third shank has a short bit inserted directly into the shank, the distal end of which is covered with a metal sleeve, probably part of a rifle cartridge (fig. 13d). A single *drill mouthpiece* is a caribou astragalus. Since the rim is low on one side, a bone peg has been inserted to raise the level of the rim at this point, thus preventing the shank from slipping out when it is rotated with the bow (fig. 12e). Complete drilling sets are described and illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 106, fig. 52a-c, p. 109, fig. 60), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 206-207, fig. 176), and Jenness (1946, pp. 101-102, fig. 116). Jenness (1946, p. 102, fig. 118) described and illustrated a drill mouthpiece made from a caribou astragalus.

Three *hand saws* with toothed steel blades made from commercial saws have antler handles. The first is a short handle to one side of which the blade is attached with iron rivets. The blade is bent over the back of the handle (fig. 12c). Birket-Smith (1945, p. 207, fig. 177) described and illustrated a similar saw. The second has a somewhat longer handle with a knob at the proximal end. The blade is attached along the side with four iron rivets (fig. 12d). Similar saws are illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 107, fig. 55). On the third saw the blade is inserted in the end of a sharply curved handle and held in place with a pair of iron rivets (fig. 12b).

A *file* has been formed by inserting the rat tail tang of the upper half of a commercial implement into a narrow antler handle that flares at the distal end. At the proximal end of the handle is a drilled hole through which is inserted a short length of twisted sinew (fig. 12f).

The single complete *adze* in the collection has an iron blade lashed directly to a wood handle with lashing holes; the lashing is with rawhide thongs. Covering the distal end of the blade is a sealskin sheath lashed with rawhide thongs and held in place by thongs that are inserted through one of the lashing holes in the handle (fig. 14b). Similar adzes are described and illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 205-206, fig. 175b) and Jenness (1946, pp. 102-103, fig. 119b,d).

A second type of adze has a blade wedged into a separate head of bone, antler, or musk ox horn. This type is represented by a single *adze head and blade*. The blade, crudely cut from a large iron fragment, is inserted into the distal end of an antler head with a broad, deep lashing groove (fig. 12g). Complete adzes of this type are described and illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 205-206, fig.

175a) and Jenness (1946, pp. 102-103, fig. 119a,c). Stefansson (1914, p. 108, fig. 56) illustrated a head and blade closely resembling the one described here.

Identified as a *pick* is a narrow, long, crudely worked iron blade with a rounded tip lashed along the flat face of a wood handle. The handle, which is broken at the proximal end and sharply recessed along more than half its length, has a lashing knob and a single lashing hole. The blade is attached to the handle with thick rawhide thongs, and a strip of sealskin has been inserted around the blade where it meets the face of the handle (fig. 14a).

The collection contains four bags that have been identified as *men's tool bags*. Two were evidently intended for a quiver and are made of depilated sealskin stitched up one side with sinew and with a separate piece attached on the side where the opening occurs. The opening, extending somewhat less than half the length of the bag, can be closed with loops of plaited sinew (fig. 14d). Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 208-209) described a similar bag and its contents. The third bag, in poor condition, is made from a whole ground squirrel (*Citellus* sp.) skin sewn up one side with sinew (fig. 14c). This bag resembles in size and shape a tool bag of fish skin from the Netsilik described and illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 109, fig. 75). About all that can be said concerning the fourth bag, also in poor condition, is that it appears to have been made from a whole marten (*Martes americana*) skin. The opening seems to have been between the back legs of the animal. The identification of this container as a tool bag is questionable. Marten skins would have been obtained from wooded areas south and west of Coronation Gulf.

## Household Equipment

The tinder used in starting a flame on the moss wick of an oil lamp was the wool of bog cotton (*Eriophorum angustifolium*), which was kept in a small *bird's foot bag* made from the split feet of waterfowl. The collection contains one such bag, probably made from a swan's foot. It is in poor condition but appears to have been made without a separate bottom (fig. 15a). Similar bags are described and illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 193-194, 201, fig. 168) and Jenness (1946, pp. 55, 64, fig. 49, p. 58).

Since Jenness (1946, p. 58) noted that most of the cooking "was done on lamps not less than 24

inches [61 cm] long," the single soapstone *lamp* in the Noice collection was presumably used for heat and light, primarily the latter. This lamp is semicircular in shape and the sides are nearly straight. On the inside the front edge or lip has a pronounced slope down into the well while at the back the slope is considerably less; the well of the lamp is flat. Unlike many Copper Inuit lamps, this one has no partitions (fig. 15b). According to Jenness (1946, p. 59), smaller lamps were made by women and the large ones by men, who then turned them over to the housewife to become her exclusive property.

Blubber was stored in sealskin bags, and before use in the oil lamp it was pounded with a *blubber pounder* made of musk ox horn. The collection contains a single pounder made from the distal end of the horn. On the concave side at the proximal end there are four half-round notches for the fingers (fig. 16d). Identical blubber pounders are described and illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 76, fig. 22), Birket-Smith (1945, p. 194, fig. 157), and Jenness (1946, pp. 69–70, fig. 63).

According to Jenness (1946, p. 70), *dippers* or *drinking ladles* were found in every household, but hunters in the field never carried them. There are three examples in the Noice collection that seem to represent the range of sizes mentioned in the literature. The largest is made from the proximal end of a musk ox horn that flares at the distal end. It is deep and has a small upturned handle. This dipper has been repaired in three places with metal and ivory plates attached with copper rivets (fig. 15d). The other two dippers are much smaller. Both are very deep, but one is narrow and nearly rectangular (fig. 15e), while the other flares somewhat at the distal end (fig. 15c); both have upturned handles. Horn dippers are described and/or illustrated by Stefansson (1914, pp. 72–73, figs. 14, 17), Cadzow (1920, pl. XI), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 196–197, fig. 161a–d), and Jenness (1946, pp. 70–71, figs. 64–66). Stefansson identified the smaller examples as spoons, and Birket-Smith described specimens of all sizes as soup ladles. The large dippers illustrated by Stefansson and Cadzow are repaired with plates and rivets in the same manner as the one described here. Stefansson (1914, p. 69) noted that blood soup, which formed the last course of every cooked meal, was always drunk from ox horn dippers.

Jenness (1946, p. 76, fig. 78) noted that snow knives of antler or bone were used by women to chop up blocks of snow in the cooking pot. The collection contains two *snow knives* of split antler

tines that are curved and flattened at the distal end (fig. 15f–g). Birket-Smith (1945, p. 190, fig. 152c) described and illustrated a similar snow knife along with a man's knife with a metal blade and seems to suggest that both were used to cut blocks for the snow house. Jenness made no mention of their use for this purpose but noted that a woman sometimes used her antler snow knife to chop snow for filling in the gaps between the snow blocks while her husband finished building the dwelling.

A *water bag* is made of tanned sealskin and has a handle of the same material. The bottom is a separate piece, and there are separate pieces near the opening; sewing is with sinew (fig. 16a). Jenness (1946, p. 74, fig. 74) illustrated a similar bag and noted that their usual capacity was slightly more than one gallon. Ice that formed on the side of the bag was broken loose by hammering on the outside with a stick.

An oval *clothing bag* in poor condition is similar to those described and illustrated by Jenness (1946, p. 78, fig. 81b). It is made of caribou leg skins sewn vertically with sinew and with the hair retained. The bottom is of tanned sealskin. The opening is in the center, and there are sealskin thongs laced across the top. According to Jenness (1946, p. 79), in summer these bags, intended for spare clothing, were cached on high rocks where they could not be disturbed by foxes (*Alopex lagopus*). In winter they were stored under the bed or hung outside the house.

In addition to the bags already described, the Noice collection contains four small *bags*, the specific use of which is uncertain. The first is oval in shape, made of intestine, and contains dried grass or sedge (fig. 16b); it is probably a bag for tinder like the previously described bird's foot bag. The second bag is made of a single piece of depilated sealskin sewn up both sides. There is a strip of plaited sinew at the top to tie the opening (fig. 16c). A pouch-like bag of caribou hide with the hair inside is made of one large piece and a smaller patch. At the opening is a long strip of plaited sinew that served as a tie (fig. 16f). The fourth bag, made of three pieces of depilated sealskin including a separate bottom and sewn with sinew, appears to have been cut off at the top and is probably not complete. It is heavily encrusted and may have contained oil or blubber (fig. 16a).

### Clothing

For the Copper Inuit, caribou skins were the preferred material for clothing. The superiority of

caribou skin derives primarily from its insulating properties, which allow the body to maintain thermal balance (Stenton, 1991, p. 4). The seasonal variation in the utility of caribou skin for clothing regulates the procurement strategies of Inuit hunters. The annual shedding of the outer and inner layer hairs begins in early spring and continues through the early summer. During this molting period the skins are not suitable for clothing. The skins are also not suitable because of infestation of the parasitic warble fly (*Oedemagena tarandi*). In early August exit holes made by the larvae have healed. By late fall and throughout the winter the hair is too thick for use in clothing except for over-coats. Thus the period of peak clothing utility is in September and October (Stenton, 1991, pp. 4–6). In contrast to other Inuit in the Central Arctic, the Copper Inuit preferred to harvest finely haired caribou skins for their clothing (Driscoll, 1983, p. 81).

Jenness (1946, p. 11) summarized the clothing needs of the Copper Inuit as follows:

Excluding the outer shoes, which were made of sealskin, it required no less than seven caribou hides to furnish the adult Copper Eskimo with one complete suit of clothing for winter travel; and every man really needed two suits, besides a raincoat and special footgear for the spring and summer months. In winter, his costume comprised two frocks or coats . . . worn one inside the other, the fur of the inner against his body; an overcoat . . . , whenever the weather demanded it; two pairs of breeks [trousers] . . . , worn in the same way as the coats, two pairs of stockings worn similarly, and reaching to just below the knees . . . ; a pair of caribou fur slippers . . . between the stockings; and low sealskin shoes . . . as final covering for the feet. A pair of mittens completed the outfit. The overcoat, unlike the outer garments, which were fashioned from summer skins, was made from the heavy winter coat of the caribou, and generally required two full skins for its manufacture. Of the two ordinary coats . . . , the outer . . . also required the greater part of two skins because of its ornamental pattern, but the inner coat . . . could usually be made from one hide. Two more hides, with the fragments left over from the coats, generally sufficed for the breeks, footgear, and mittens.

One of the particular advantages of caribou skin for clothing is its light weight. A complete set of clothing weighed between 3.0 and 4.5 kg. However, the long guard hairs break off easily and decrease the insulative efficiency of a garment (Stenton, 1991, p. 9). According to Jenness (1928, p. 153), a winter outfit could last up to three years, but others suggest that under normal circumstances winter garments were replaced every year, and more frequently if skins were plentiful (Stenton, 1991, p. 9).

**MEN'S CLOTHING**—The Noice collection contains three coats identified in the catalog as men's *outer parkas*. Copper Inuit seamstresses did not always use the same pattern in sewing parkas. The seams varied according to the shapes and sizes of skins available, a fact that is evident in the parkas described in this study. Outer parkas were well tailored, and on most garments narrow strips of white caribou fur were used to articulate important design features. The shoulders were always broad to allow the arms to be easily withdrawn from the sleeves. All the parkas in the Noice collection, both men's and women's, are sewn with sinew. Another regular feature is a narrow tape of depilated caribou skin sewn along most borders, especially around the tail, to prevent the borders from rolling up.

The pattern of the first parka, because of decorative insertions, is fairly complex. The back piece extends from the tail up the middle back to the area of the neck where it is joined to a piece with a long extension that forms the back of the hood. The front piece covers the chest and extends over the shoulders and around the sides, where it is joined to the back piece. The sides of the hood are formed of a separate piece. Each sleeve is formed essentially of a separate piece sewn up one side, but they are extended by an additional piece around the upper arm and gussets in the under arm areas (fig. 17).

The decorative inserts on this parka are fairly simple. A broad band of white fur extends around the tail and continues around the front. A much narrower band, sewn to an intervening narrow tape of skin, is sewn along borders, and from it extends pairs of long decorative strands of tanned skin. These are cut in sets of three from a single piece of skin. According to Driscoll (1987, p. 178), these strands were replaced every spring in anticipation of the return of the caribou. There are strips of white fur around the upper arm, around the hood opening, and in the seam that separates the front of the hood from the back (figs. 18–19).

The basic pattern of the second parka is essentially the same as that of the garment just described except that the hood, in addition to back and side pieces, has small gussets near the neck on each side; there is a strip of white fur around the opening. Each sleeve consists of two large pieces with a number of small additions and a pair of added strips around the upper arms which include some white fur. Between the shoulder blades is a short, rectangular strip ending in a tuft of white fur, a characteristic feature mentioned by Jenness (1946,

p. 12) and believed by Driscoll (1987, p. 178) to be a symbolic reference to the caribou tail. A strip of white fur extends around the borders (fig. 20).

The decorative insertions of white fur on this parka include a narrow strip that follows the contour of the tail and two broad panels from the underbelly of the caribou on the front (figs. 21–22). Issenman (1985, p. 106) noted that this “ventral mane, under which beats the great heart of the caribou, covers the chest of the hunter . . .” and is an example of animal–human bonding. The ears of the caribou, often left on the hood (Jenness, 1946, p. 12; Stefansson, 1914, fig. 66b), but absent from the men’s outer parkas in the collection, are also a symbolic reference to the close relationship between men and animals.

The third parka is undecorated, and the back and most of the hood is a single piece of skin. Both features, according to Jenness (1946, p. 11), are characteristic of inner parkas. The rounded shoulders and front are cut from a second piece that is filled out along the lower end with a semicircular inset. Additional pieces cover the neck and the lower part of the front of the hood. Each sleeve consists basically of a single piece sewn up one side, but there are additional pieces in the area of the underarms. A narrow strip of white fur is sewn around the hood opening (figs. 23–24).

Outer parkas similar to those in the Noice collection are described and illustrated by Stefansson (1914, pp. 114–117, figs. 66–67), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 142–144, figs. 100–101), Jenness (1917, fig. 5; 1946, pp. 11–17, frontispiece, figs. 3–6), Rasmussen (1932, opp. p. 49), and Driscoll (1987, p. 179, fig. 163, p. 186, fig. 171).

In addition to the style of outer and inner parkas just described, the Copper Inuit also wore an *overcoat* cut from heavy, long-haired caribou skins that could be put on over the inner and/or outer parkas when the wind was blowing, when traveling, or when hunting seals at breathing holes. This heavy coat was nearly as long in front as in back and was usually undecorated (Stefansson, 1914, pp. 114, 117; Jenness, 1922, p. 204, fig. 58; 1946, p. 17; Rasmussen, 1932, opp. p. 80). Overcoats were necessary because of the fine-haired, thin skins the Copper Inuit preferred for their parkas (Driscoll, 1983, p. 81).

The Noice collection contains one such overcoat that consists of a back piece extending to form most of the hood and a front piece that includes the front of the shoulders. Separate pieces have been added to the front of the hood to protect the neck and chin. Each sleeve is a separate piece sewn

up the side, and there is a strip of white fur around the hood opening (fig. 25).

In winter men wore two pairs of caribou skin trousers. In summer only the inner trousers were worn; they were usually made of heavier fur than the outer garment (Jenness, 1946, p. 17). According to Stefansson (1914, pp. 117, 246), trousers reached three inches below the knee and were worn well up to the lower edge of the sternum.

The Noice collection contains two pairs of men’s *outer trousers*. Both consist basically of four pieces sewn together at the sides and down the median line with sinew. There are gussets at the crotch and waist. One pair has a drawstring around the waist that ties in front; the other lacks a drawstring. Both trousers are ornamented with white fur on the legs. On one pair there are two narrow bands above a wide edging. Strands of depilated skin hang from both bands (fig. 26). On the other there are narrow bands of brown and white fur just above the white edging and a single band of white almost at the level of the crotch (fig. 27). Trousers similar to these are described and illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 146–147, fig. 103) and Jenness (1946, pp. 17, 20, fig. 9).

As noted previously, in winter men wore two pairs of stockings that reached just below the knees: an inner pair with the fur next to the skin and an outer pair with the fur outside. The collection contains a single pair of *outer stockings*, the tops of which are made from the light-colored area of caribou leg skins sewn vertically with sinew. The feet are made from the darker area of leg skins and are sewn together from several small pieces. A casing of dehaired caribou skin is sewn around the top to hold the drawstring of plaited sinew (fig. 28a). Similar outer stockings are described by Jenness (1946, pp. 25–26).

The collection also contains a pair of badly worn *dance stockings*, another form of outer stocking that was usually not worn when hunting. All the leg is encircled by narrow, parallel bands in three colors—white, red, and black. The white bands are of clipped caribou fur, the black of dehaired sealskin, and the red of ochre-stained, dehaired sealskin. Below these bands is an area of clipped brown caribou fur with a narrow band from which hang short strands of dehaired caribou skin. A broad strip of white skin vertical to the parallel bands is sewn into the outside of each leg. The feet of these stockings are in especially poor condition but appear to have been made of caribou skin with the fur on the outside. They have a single median and heel seam. There is a drawstring of plaited

sinew around the top (fig. 29). Similar dance stockings are described and illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 147–148, fig. 104) and Jenness (1946, pp. 25–26, fig. 14).

Socks were worn by men and women between the outer and inner stocking and, according to Jenness (1946, p. 27), were usually made from the thick, winter coat of the caribou. The collection contains one *sock* shaped from a single piece of skin with a seam from toe to instep and up the heel (fig. 28b).

Jenness (1946, p. 24) described “a hybrid type of boot which had the sealskin foot of a waterboot but a leg of caribou fur . . .” Boots of this type were worn in early spring and late fall, water boots being worn from June to October. The collection contains a single pair of *spring and fall boots* with the legs made from caribou leg skin. The soles are made of bleached and dehaired bearded sealskin, and the instep is covered with two pieces of dehaired sealskin with the seam running down the center. The soles are reinforced with patches that, according to Jenness (1946, p. 24), required replacement every two or three days when traveling over stony ground. There is a casing for a drawstring at the top of each boot (fig. 30).

Shoes of bleached sealskin were worn by both men and women over the outer stockings and around camp in summer; there were two types. The type 1 *sealskin shoes*, of which there are two pairs in the collection, are the simplest in construction. The upper part covering the instep was made of a single piece attached to the sole by a seam running around the edge of the foot (fig. 31b). Type 2 shoes have the sole crimped over the toes and the edges joined to an inverted V-shaped piece of unbleached sealskin over the instep. There is one pair of type 2 shoes in the collection (fig. 31a). In both types of shoes the sole was turned up over the heel, split, and one or more triangular sections removed, then sewn together again and, on two pairs, covered with a patch.

A casing of sealskin was sewn around the top of the shoe to hold the drawstring of plaited sinew. Two large patches of sealskin cover most of the soles of all three pairs, giving added protection. Jenness (1946, p. 22) noted that these patches must be sewn on with concealed stitches that catch only on the underside so that they will not fray and break. If the wearer expected to walk on glare ice or firmly packed snow, a narrow curving patch was added to allow for a more secure foothold. These “creeper” patches occur on one pair of type 1 shoes (fig. 31b). Sealskin shoes like those in the

Noice collection are described and illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 119, fig. 69), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 148–149, fig. 105b), and Jenness (1946, pp. 21–22, fig. 10).

Copper Inuit mittens for both men and women, made of summer caribou skins, were of two types. Type 1 is very short and covers the hands, leaving the wrists bare. Some mittens of this type had long-haired fringes of white fur, which afforded some protection for the wrists. In addition to these short, everyday mittens, each man had a pair of longer mittens (type 2) made from caribou leg skins that reached to the middle of the forearm and had a drawstring at the top. These mittens were worn when building a snow house (Jenness, 1946, p. 31). Stefansson (1914, p. 117) described this type as reaching to the elbow.

The Noice collection contains three pairs of type 1 *mittens* and three single mittens. All but one have been cut out in three pieces and sewn with sinew. One piece includes the palm and half the thumb, the second the front of the wrist and the back of the thumb, and the third the entire back of the mitten. With the exception of one pair, all the type 1 mittens have fringes of white fur (fig. 32a–c). On one of the single mittens, the palm and front of the thumb is constructed of several small pieces of depilated caribou skin and sewn with thread (fig. 33c). The two pairs of type 2 mittens, constructed in the same manner as those of type 1, lack the drawstring mentioned by Jenness and Stefansson and do not have fringes (fig. 33a–b).

**WOMEN'S CLOTHING**—Men's and women's parkas were stylistically similar, but there were certain features that distinguished the two. The shoulders of women's parkas were greatly enlarged, and the hood was enlarged to accommodate an infant, who could be moved from the hood to the breast without being removed from the warmth of the parka. Most significant, perhaps, was the presence of a triangular piece of fur, usually with white insertions, in the center front of the woman's parka (Jenness, 1946, pp. 34–35, fig. 27). This triangular piece has been described by Driscoll (1987, p. 182) as a symbol of procreation and maternity.

The Noice collection contains three garments that have been identified as *outer parkas*. The first of these has a relatively simple pattern, and its obvious seams and inferior fur suggest that it may be an inner parka. The front and back are essentially a single piece with an opening for attachment of the hood. The tail is extended with a separate piece. A separate triangular piece is inserted in the back and the previously mentioned symbolic piece

of the same shape is attached to the front. Each sleeve is two pieces sewn up the sides. The hood has the most complex pattern, consisting of 13 separate pieces (fig. 34). This outer parka is undecorated except for strips of white fur around the cuffs and hood opening (fig. 35).

The pattern of the second parka is quite different. The tail is essentially a single piece, although there is a seam up the center and a small triangular insert. The front piece has two long extensions that attach to the sides of the tail. The sleeves consist of two pieces sewn up the sides and gussets in the underarm area. The sides of the hood are two large pieces, and the back consists of a number of small pieces (fig. 36).

The decorative insertions on this parka include a band of white fur around the rectangular back tail from which extend narrow strips of white fur cut in pairs. A similar band with fringes extends across the front including the characteristic triangular piece. Four paired, wider strips of white fur extend from caribou ears that have been sewn on just below the shoulders. There are three bands of white fur on the sleeves just above the cuffs. Paired strands of white fur extend from a seam at the back of the hood (indicated by dots on the pattern drawing), and there is a white fringe around the hood opening (figs. 37–38).

The pattern of the third parka is somewhat similar in that the back piece extends to the hood and the front includes extensions that reach down both sides. A number of small pieces fill out the basic pattern. The sleeves are two pieces sewn up the sides with gussets in the underarm area. The hood has two large side pieces and a number of smaller ones toward the back (fig. 39).

This outer parka is the most elaborately decorated of the three. There is a broad band of white fur around the outer edge of the tail and across the front from which extend paired narrow strips of white fur. A much narrower band of white fur follows the contours of the outer tail panel. Paired strips of white fur extend from caribou ears placed over the shoulder blades as on the previously described parka. There are two broad, white panels on the chest and below them narrow inset strips of white fur that extend down into the triangular piece. Four white bands on the sleeves are placed just above the cuffs. On the hood a band of white fur extends around the opening and continues to the top. Narrower bands also occur on the back of the hood, and paired narrow bands of fur (indicated by dots on the pattern drawing) extend from a seam in this area (figs. 40–41).

Women's outer parkas similar to those in the Noice collection are described and/or illustrated by Jenness (1917, fig. 4; 1922, frontispiece, pls. viii–ix; 1946, pp. 34–35, figs. 27–28), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 152–153, fig. 110), Damas (1984, p. 411, fig. 16a), Rasmussen (1932, opp. p. 64), and Driscoll (1987, p. 182, fig. 166).

Women's trousers were cut the same as those of men, but since women's stockings covered more of the leg, their trousers are shorter. The collection contains a single pair of *outer trousers* that consist of four pieces sewn together down the middle and laterally. In the middle of the front is the characteristic triangular gusset of white fur, and running down the outside of each leg are four longitudinal strips of clipped white and brown fur. In the center of each white strip is a narrow strip of depilated, ochre-stained sealskin. There is no drawstring, but at the back near the waist are two holes, possibly for a sealskin thong with loop and toggle (fig. 42). Women's outer trousers are described and illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 155–156, fig. 111a–b) and Jenness (1946, p. 37, fig. 29).

The inner and outer stockings worn by Copper Inuit women differed considerably from those worn by men. They fit tightly around the ankle and then flared rapidly upward toward the knee. The outer side of the stocking then tapered to form a wide strap that was looped over the belt holding up the trousers. The Noice collection contains a single pair of women's stockings that, although the fur is on the outside, are identified in the catalog as *inner stockings*. They are undecorated except for a white strip around the opening (fig. 43). The pattern consists of many irregularly shaped pieces, and Jenness (1946, p. 26) noted that since the inner stockings for both men and women did not need to be attractive, they were often pieced together from sections of old coats or sleeping skins. The feet were generally made of caribou leg skins, but this does not appear to be the case with the stockings described here. Women's inner and outer stockings are described and/or illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 116, fig. 68), Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 156–157, fig. 112a–b), and Jenness (1946, p. 37, figs. 31–32).

#### Miscellaneous

The Noice collection contains two female *dolls* without arms made of depilated caribou skin and stuffed with small twigs and strips of skin; both

are in very poor condition. The first doll is wearing trousers with the typical decorative strips down the sides but is otherwise undressed. What appears to be a pair of mittens are sewn to the doll just above the trousers. Sewn to the head are a pair of braids of human hair, and the face is made of white depilated skin on which features and tattooing are incised (fig. 44d). The tattooing resembles the female designs illustrated by Jenness (1946, p. 53, fig. 44). Accompanying this doll is a single woman's stocking (fig. 44h). The second doll is undressed with a length of sinew wrapped around the waist. It also has a face of depilated skin on which features and tattooing are incised (fig. 44i). Similar dolls are described and illustrated by Birket-Smith (1945, pp. 213–214, fig. 186) and Jenness (1922, p. 219; 1946, p. 54, fig. 186), who noted that while dolls were primarily playthings, the cutting and sewing of doll clothing was considered an important part of a girl's education.

The well-known and widely distributed Inuit *ring and pin game* is represented in the collection by a single example made from the humerus of a bearded seal. A single hole is drilled in the center of the smaller articular surface and multiple holes occur in the larger surface as well as down one side. A length of sinew is attached to the bone toward the center with an ivory pin at the opposite end (fig. 44g). The purpose of the game is to toss the pin so that it lands upright in one of the holes. Ring and pin games are described and/or illustrated by Stefansson (1914, p. 124, fig. 82), Birket-Smith (1945, p. 213, fig. 184), and Jenness (1922, pp. 220–221; 1946, pp. 141–142, fig. 183).

The collection contains a single antler *comb* with seven teeth and a small hole at the proximal end for attachment to the needle case (fig. 44b). Both Stefansson (1914, pp. 121, 126, fig. 83c–d) and Jenness (1946, pp. 50–51, fig. 42a) noted that combs were not widely used by Copper Inuit women, who, when they arranged their hair at all, braided it into two small braids. Both authors and Birket-Smith (1945, p. 159, fig. 115) illustrated combs similar to the one described here.

Attached to the front crossbar of a sled was the *sled toggle*, which supported the stress of the traces. The collection contains one such toggle of musk ox horn to which a length of heavy rawhide with a loop at each end is attached. This rawhide strap is held in place in the toggle line hole by a pair of wood plugs. When in use, each end of the strap was passed through holes in the runner below the front crossbar and then over the projecting ends of this bar. Accompanying this sled toggle is a

caribou skin container with a series of holes at the opening for a drawstring (fig. 44a,c). Jenness (1946, p. 137, fig. 177) described and illustrated a similar sled toggle and noted that the ones he observed were invariably made of musk ox horn. Birket-Smith (1945, p. 184, fig. 145a) also described and illustrated a sled toggle but without the attached rawhide strap.

The collection contains a *loon's head pendant*, including the bird's neck (*Gavia arctica*), from which are suspended narrow strips of depilated skin (fig. 44f). According to Jenness (1946, p. 29, fig. 22), a loon's head and neck, split so that the bill projected upward, was sometimes attached to a dancing cap. Birket-Smith (1945, p. 150, fig. 107) and Driscoll (1987, figs. 176–177, p. 190) also illustrated dancing caps with a loon's head pendant attached.

## Raw Materials

Two small and one large *musk ox horns* have been cut off evenly at the wide end (fig. 44e), possibly for the eventual manufacture of drinking horns like those illustrated by Jenness (1946, p. 71, fig. 67).

Although described in the catalog as "grass bunches," two dense cushions of floral material are, in fact, *dried moss* (*Dicranum elongatum*) used for lamp wicks (Stefansson, 1914, p. 69, fig. 20, p. 75).

## III. Conclusions

The student of Copper Inuit material culture is fortunate to have, for comparative purposes, the pioneering study made by Diamond Jenness (1946). This study is based primarily on a collection of 2,500 objects obtained around the west end of Coronation Gulf and on southwestern Victoria Island when Jenness was a member of the Southern Division of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913–1916). His collection comprises a significant portion of the ethnographic collections of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, Ottawa (S. E. Jenness, 1991, p. 697). Presumably also included in Jenness's study were the collections made by Stefansson as leader of the Northern Division of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (1913–1918). These collections are also in the museum in Ottawa. Although in his monograph Jenness described in

considerable detail numerous artifact classes of Copper Inuit material culture, he did not refer to specific cataloged objects except in illustrations, nor did he provide a complete inventory of the collection on which his study is based. This would be available from the museum's catalog inventory.

Jenness observed that in 1914, when the Southern Division established its headquarters at Bernard Harbor in Dolphin and Union Strait, "the natives preserved their old culture virtually unimpaired" (Jenness, 1946, p. 1). The only observable change resulting from a few earlier contacts with explorers was the availability of a large amount of iron, which the Copper Inuit hammered cold just as they had prepared the native copper available in their territory. Iron took the place of copper in the manufacture of knives, adze blades, harpoon blades, and needles. At the beginning of the expedition's work, only five men possessed rifles, and they were unable to use them for lack of ammunition. Most hunters observed by Jenness used bows and arrows tipped with bone or antler, copper, or iron. Some tools continued to have copper blades, and all cooking of meat was accomplished in soapstone vessels. Fur clothing was worn exclusively by both men and women (Jenness, 1946, p. 1).

The ten years following the departure of the Canadian Arctic Expedition was a period of profound change for Copper Inuit material culture. Native copper came to be used only for rivets, all hunters were armed with high-powered, repeating rifles, tools had steel or iron blades, and metal cooking pots replaced soapstone vessels. Although some cooking was done over primus stoves, and light provided by kerosene lamps (Jenness, 1946, pp. 1-2), stone lamps were still in use around Bathurst Inlet and Perry River in the early 1960s (D. Damas, pers. comm.). As noted in the Introduction, Captain Klengenberg traded on Victoria Island during the winter of 1905-1906. His wife was an Iñupiat from Point Hope, Alaska, and she and her daughter introduced western Iñupiat clothing styles, which rapidly replaced the traditional Copper Inuit styles (Oakes, 1991, p. 24). Garments of wool and cotton were also increasingly available.

Before these rapid changes had taken place, the Canadian Arctic Expedition obtained the large collection that Jenness published in 1946. It will be recalled that Harold Noice was a member of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, and although his collection was made in 1921-1922, six years after the one obtained by Jenness, it should be apparent from the foregoing artifact descriptions that exotic

materials are absent from the collection except for the use of metal for blades and points. Thus the statements made by Jenness with reference to the status of Copper Inuit material culture at the time of the Canadian Arctic Expedition apply equally well to the collection made by Noice in spite of the fact that opportunities for acquiring trade goods presumably increased considerably during those intervening six years. Of course, it is possible, perhaps even probable, that Noice avoided collecting objects that showed European influence.

Like Robert Peary during his numerous trips to the country of the Polar Inuit in northwest Greenland over a period of 20 years beginning in 1891 (VanStone, 1972, pp. 39-40), members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition had a major impact on the material culture of the Copper Inuit. Jenness appears to have been well supplied with goods for trading. An appendix to his recently published diary (S. E. Jenness, 1991, pp. 673-696) gives a complete list of trades he made from December 1914 to March 1915. Following are some typical transactions:

- 30 .44 cartridges for one bow and equipment.
- 2 fathoms of calico for one snow knife.
- 1 metal thimble for three bone thimbles.
- 1 saw for a pair of women's water boots.
- 1 canister of gun powder for a man's parka.
- 1 box of .38-.55 cartridges for a large ulu.

A total of 744 transactions are listed, and although some are payments for food, dogs, interviews, and "services rendered," the majority are for the purchase of ethnographic objects or the raw materials for their manufacture. Also, the majority of items traded are either finished manufactures (saws, knives, cloth, cans, etc.) or items associated with subsistence, especially ammunition and traps. As previously noted, guns, presumably muzzle-loaders, were rare objects before the Canadian Arctic Expedition, and even when Copper Inuit hunters succeeded in obtaining a few weapons, they were never able to gain much advantage from them since powder and shot could only occasionally be obtained. From Jenness and other members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, the hunters received modern, breech-loading weapons and a regular supply of cartridges. As Damas (1984, p. 409) noted, "Already during Jenness's stay, . . . , the use of rifles had begun to alter the seasonal economic cycle in the western part of the [Copper Inuit] area with sealing grounds being abandoned about a month earlier for caribou hunts on both sides of Dolphin and Union Strait." Thus it is

probably no exaggeration to state that it was Jenness and his fellow expedition members who gave the Copper Inuit, for the first time, truly effective equipment for harvesting the resources in their environment.

Like Jenness, Harold Noice acquired his collection with trade goods that he obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company post established at Bernard Harbor in 1916 or other posts operating in Coronation Gulf shortly thereafter (Usher, 1971, pp. 103–104). As Stefansson noted in his letter of April 24, 1922, to C. T. Currelly of the Royal Ontario Museum, quoted in the Introduction, Noice had to obtain fox skins, presumably trapped by Inuit, in order to acquire trade goods from the Hudson's Bay Company. Stefansson pointed out that Noice had to pay an average of \$15 in fox skins to acquire sufficient trade goods to purchase one bow in Coronation Gulf. In any event, it is clear that Noice, Jenness, and Stefansson obtained their collections in essentially the same manner. The difference was that Jenness, and Stefansson to a limited extent, were collecting within the context of well-funded anthropological research, while Noice was untrained as a social scientist and, of necessity, was forced to exchange trade goods with Inuit for furs to obtain more trade goods so that he could sustain his collecting effort.

Of major importance with reference to both the Jenness and Noice collections, of course, is that both collectors acquired objects still in use at the time the collections were made. This is in contrast to many of the Native American and Canadian collections in the Field Museum that, more often than not, contain items that were either preserved by families as heirlooms or were made specifically at the request of the collector. As Stefansson noted in his letter to Currelly, items collected by Noice, even though obtained when traders were already operating in Coronation Gulf, would never again be made except for sale, especially clothing and items associated with subsistence. Noice, he stated emphatically, “secured the last that remained of those [artifacts] actually made for use and actually used.” Jenness would certainly have agreed with this statement. Seldom, it would seem, have serious ethnographic collectors so closely preceded the initial presence of significant agents of culture change.

Compared to the collection made by Jenness, the Noice assemblage is not large, even when that part of it now in the Royal Ontario Museum is included. Nevertheless, the collection purchased by the Field Museum in 1920 is quite represen-

tative, a condition that may be due in part to decisions made by Worth when the total collection was split for sale. The material culture of the Copper Inuit was not complex and the Field Museum's Noice collection provides a reasonable indication of its variety.

It may be useful to compare the Noice collection with the collection studied by Jenness. The following classes of artifacts present, in the combined Jenness/Stefansson assemblage, are absent from the Noice collection:

#### *Land Hunting*

boards for freighting caribou  
instruments for feathering arrows

#### *Sea Hunting*

probes for seal holes  
wound plugs  
hooks for withdrawing indicators from seal holes

#### *Fishing*

bone gorge  
fish rake

#### *Women's Tools*

knife sharpener  
wood hearth for fire drill  
whetstone  
mattock

#### *Household Equipment*

stone kettle  
wood pail and bowls  
frame for drying clothes  
snow shovel  
wood table and strut  
drinking horn  
meat fork  
sewing basket

#### *Men's Clothing*

inner coat  
sealskin coat

water boots  
inner stockings  
dancing cap

### *Women's Clothing*

inner coat  
water boots  
outer stockings  
necklace

### *Miscellaneous*

drum  
bull roarer

It will be noted that artifacts in most of the categories described by Jenness are represented in the Noice collection. The most significant omissions are in the categories of household equipment and men's and women's clothing. The Noice collection contains no children's clothing, and only one artifact associated with transportation. The only artifacts in the Noice collection that are absent from the Jenness/Stefansson assemblage are a file, bolas, and seal hooks. With the exception of rivets, there is an almost complete absence of artifacts made from copper. Only two arrowhead blades, two fishhooks, two leister prong barbs, and one needle are made of copper, the material that was once so characteristic of Copper Inuit manufacturers.

This study of the Field Museum's Noice collection demonstrates that, like the collections made between 1908 and 1915 by Jenness and Stefansson, it represents Copper Inuit material culture just prior to the time of extensive changes introduced by traders. Although containing few artifacts that add to our knowledge of the Copper Inuit material culture inventory, it is an interesting and useful extension of the Stefansson and Jenness collections made at about the same time.

### **Acknowledgments**

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FIG. 2. **a**, bow (176040a); **b**, bow (176039b); **c**, arrow (176039c); **d**, arrow (176038f); **e**, arrow (176039e); **f**, arrow (176039d); **g**, arrow (176038d). Neg. no. 112430.

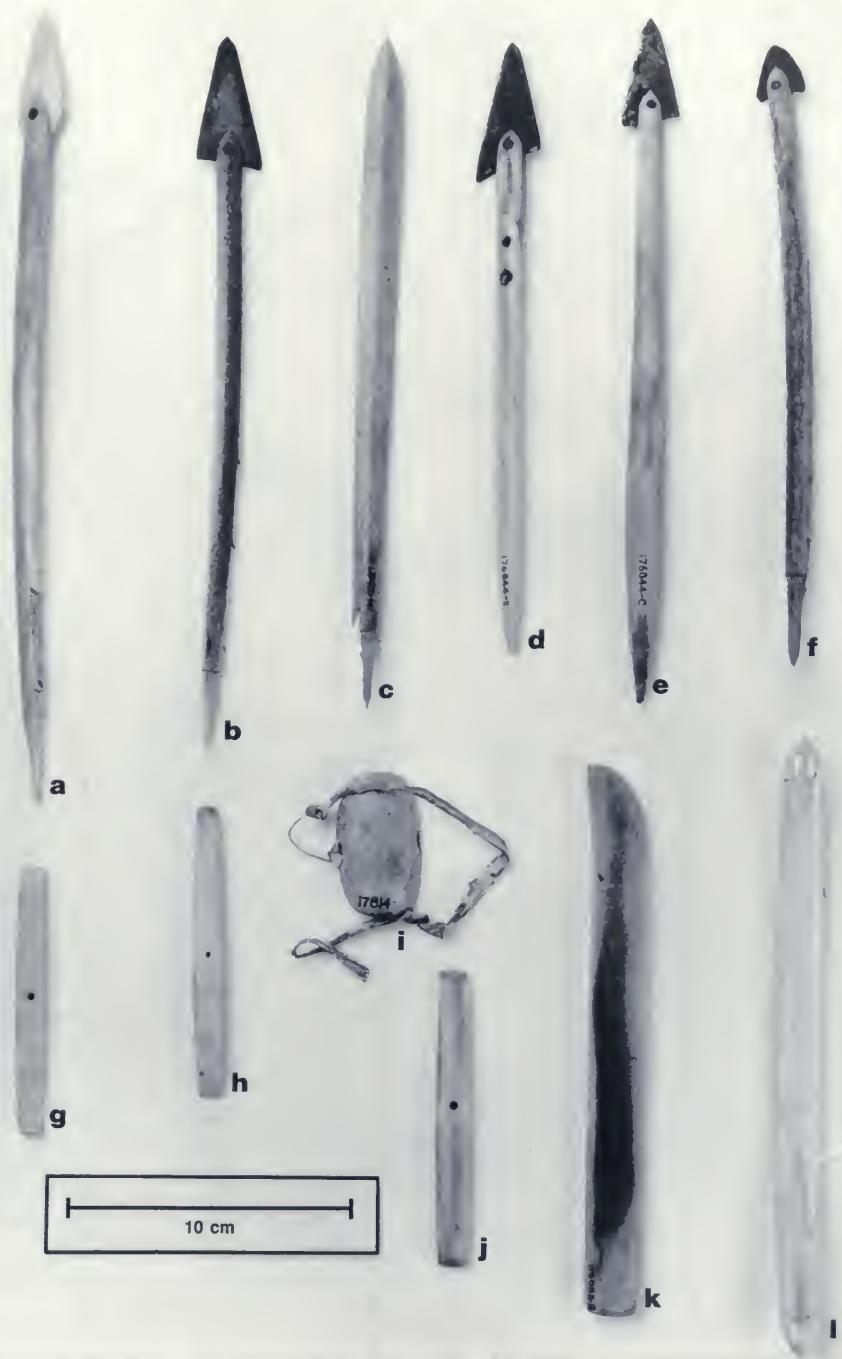


FIG. 3. a, arrowhead (176043e); b, arrowhead (176043f); c, arrowhead (176043h); d, arrowhead (176044e); e, arrowhead (176044c); f, arrowhead (176044f); g, sinew twister (176053c); h, sinew twister (176052d); i, thumb guard (178145); j, sinew twister (176053d); k, marlin spike (176052b); l, bow case handle (176063c). Neg. no. 112431.

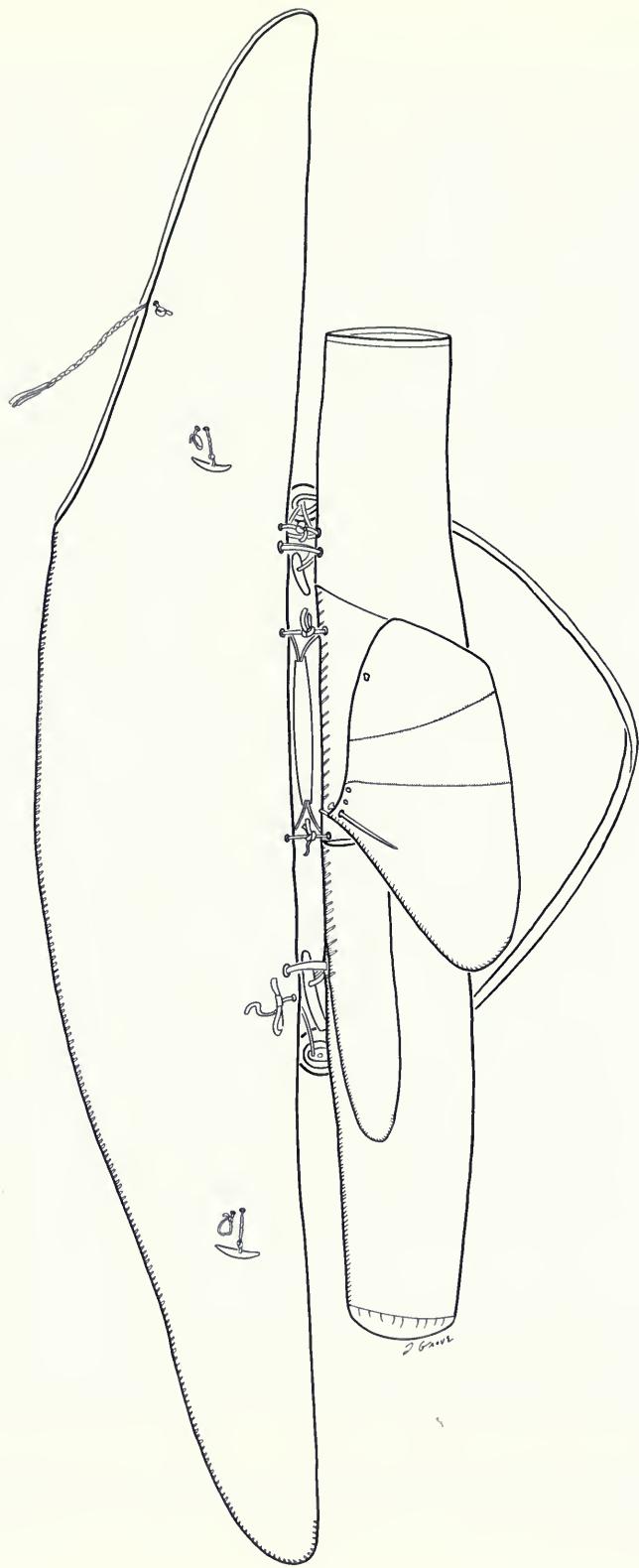




FIG. 5. a, handle for carrying blood bag (176092a); b, bolas (176032); c, lance blade (176075); d, arrow shaft straightener (176093); e, marlin spike (176054b); f, bone pins (176059a-b); g, drinking tube (176072); h, marlin spike (176055b). Neg. no. 112427.

←

FIG. 4. Bow case (176038).



FIG. 6. a, breathing hole scoop (176048b); b, breathing hole scoop (176048a); c, seal hook (176099b); d, seal hook (176099d); e, "unfinished" harpoon heads (176060); f, harpoon head (178148); g, bag for seal hooks (176099a). Neg. no. 112426.

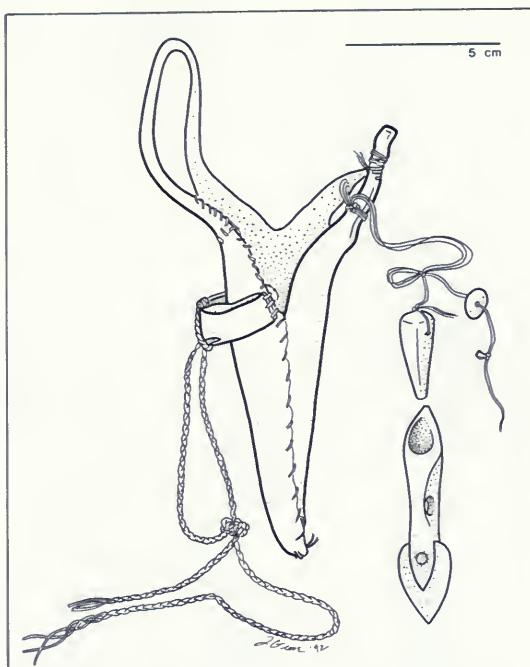


FIG. 7. Bag with harpoon head (176098a-b).

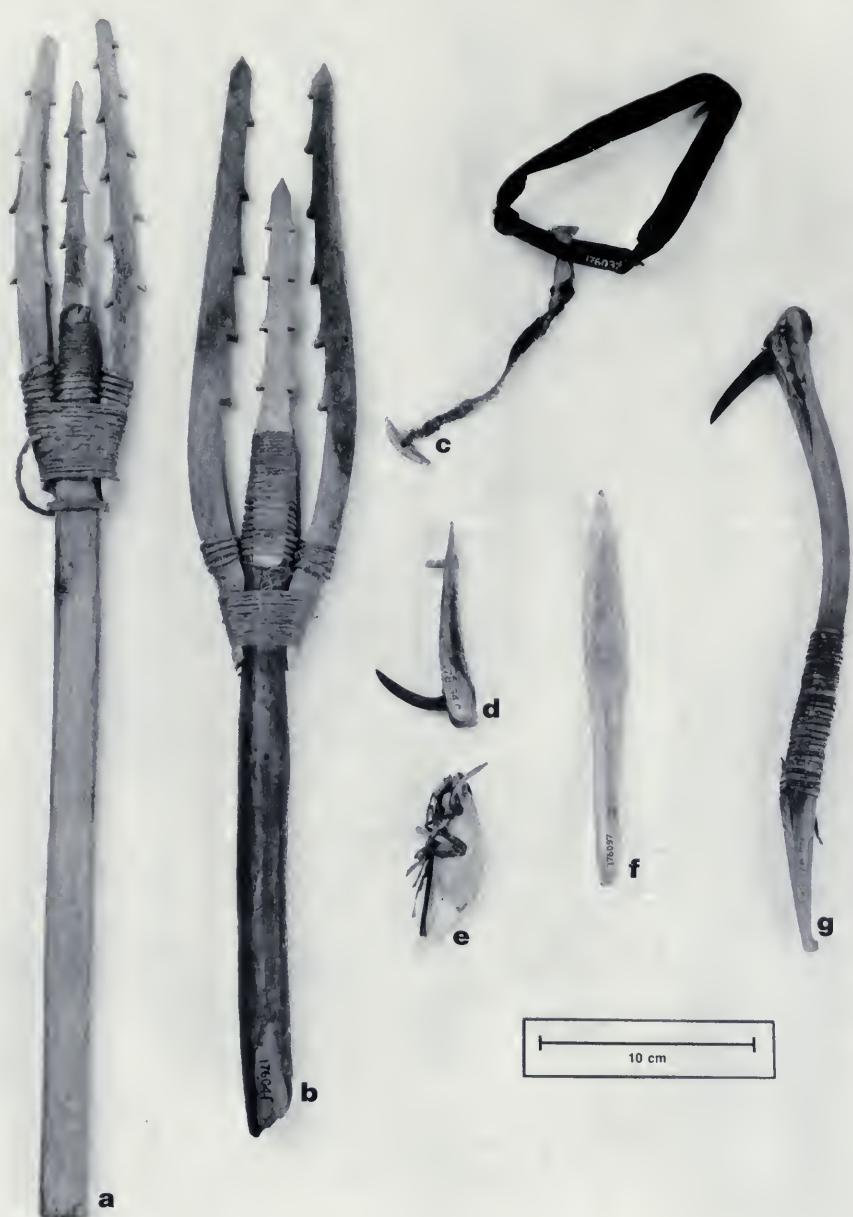


FIG. 8. a, leister (176042); b, leister (176041); c, swivel for leading a dog (176037); d, fishhook (178134c); e, fishhook (176100); f, ice pick (176097); g, leister side prong (176070a). Neg. no. 112429.

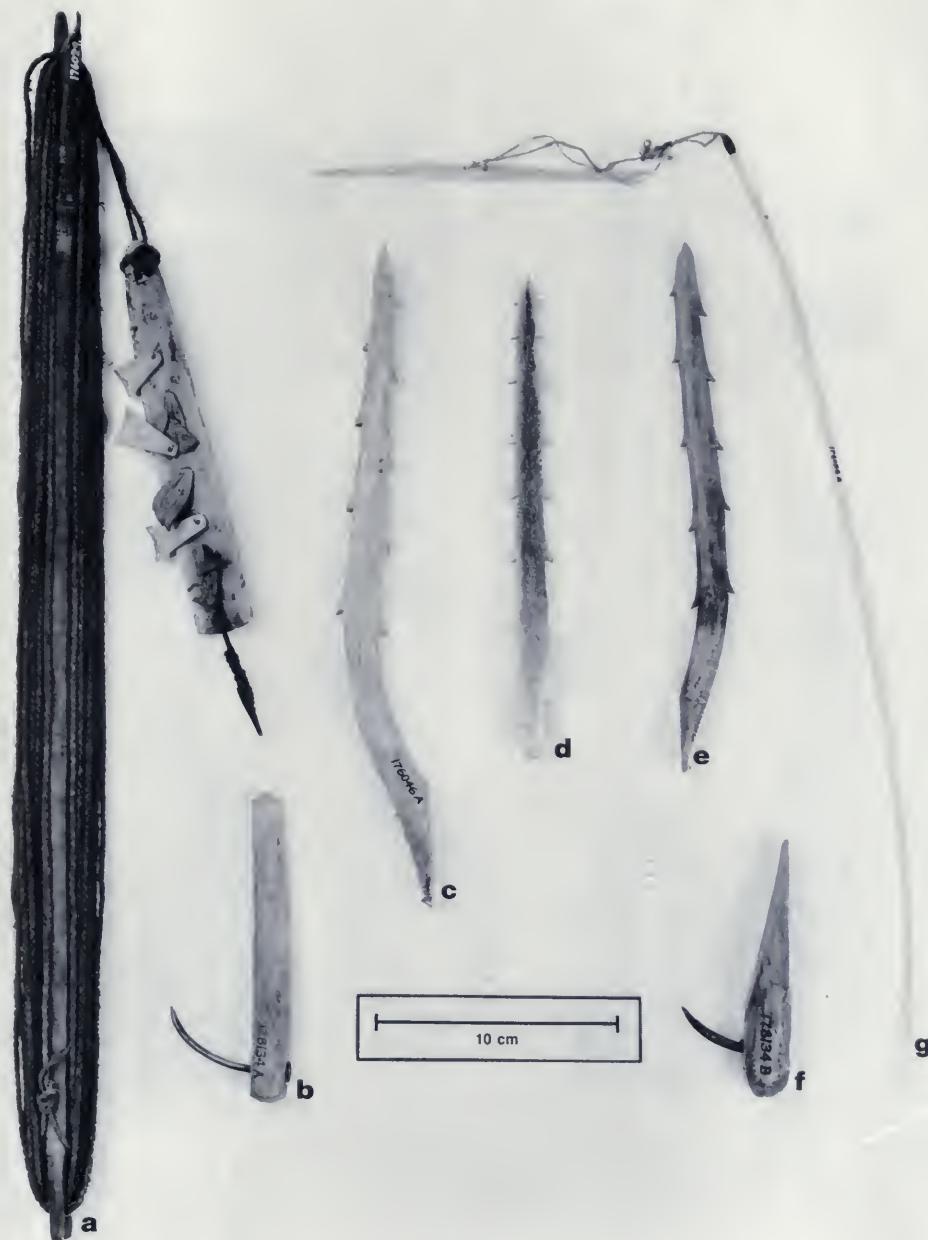


FIG. 9. **a**, fishing rod and lurehook (176029); **b**, fishhook (178134a); **c**, leister side prong (176046a); **d**, leister center prong (176049a); **e**, leister side prong (176049c); **f**, fishhook (178134b); **g**, seal indicator (176056a). Neg. no. 112428.



FIG. 10. a, woman's knife (176082); b, skin scraper, type 1 (176033b); c, skin scraper, type 1 (176033c); d, skin scraper, type 3 (176034); e, scraper handle (?) (176091); f, skin stretcher, type 2 (178142); g, skin scraper, type 2 (176081); h, skin stretcher, type 2 (176096); i, skin stretcher, type 1 (178141). Neg. no. 112425.

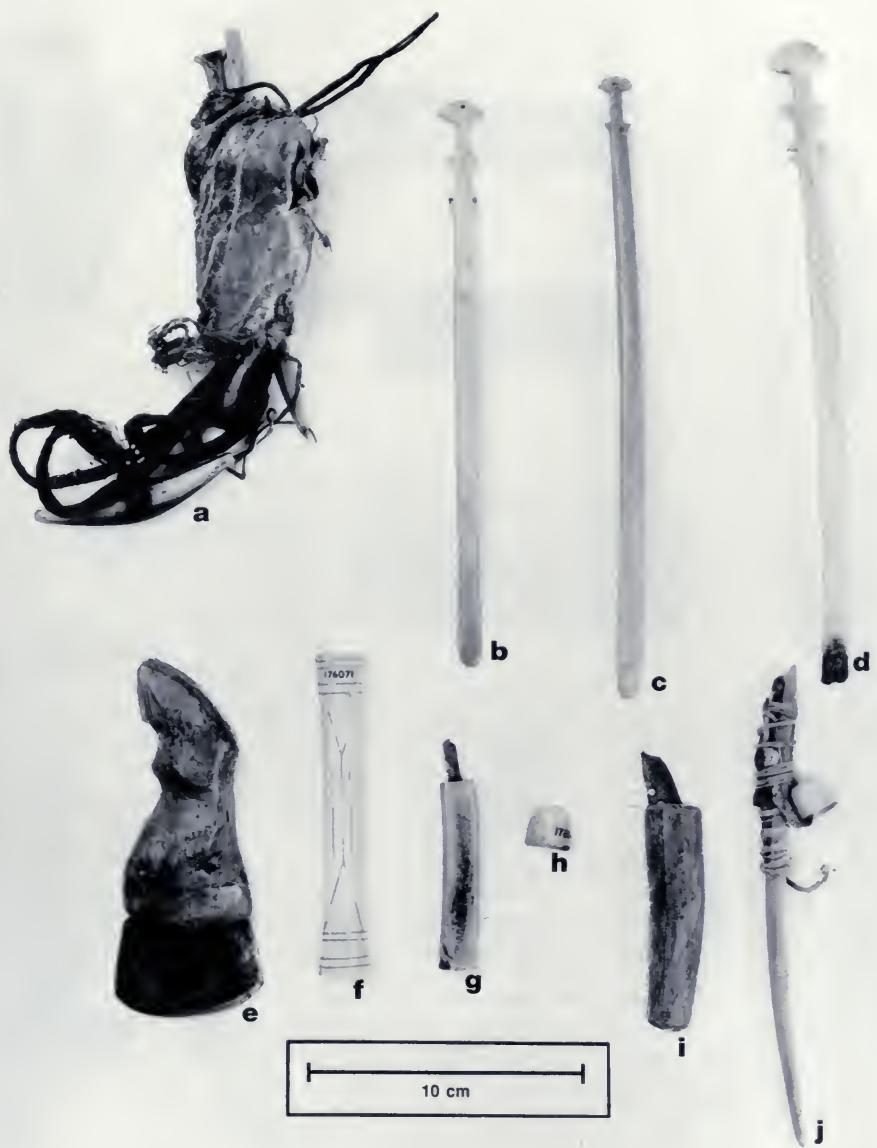


FIG. 11. a, sewing outfit (176073); b, marrow extractor (176067b); c, marrow extractor (176067c); d, marrow extractor (176067a); e, skin scraper, type 2 (176079); f, needle case (176071); g, grooving tool (176086); h, thimble (178143b); i, grooving tool (176089); j, sewing outfit (176095). Neg. no. 112422.



FIG. 12. a, crooked knife (176033a); b, saw (176088); c, saw (176084); d, saw (176078); e, drill mouthpiece (176035); f, file (176090); g, adze head and blade (176080). Neg. no. 112423.



FIG. 13. a, man's knife (176076); b, grooving tool (176087); c, man's knife (176077); d, drill shank (176047d); e, grooving tool handle (178144); f, drill shank (176047d); g, drill bow (176047c). Neg. no. 112421.



FIG. 14. **a**, pick (176050); **b**, adze (176051); **c**, man's tool bag (178151a); **d**, man's tool bag (178152). Neg. no. 112424.



FIG. 15. a, bird's foot bag (178156); b, lamp (176069); c, dipper or drinking ladle (176065c); d, dipper or drinking ladle (176065a); e, dipper or drinking ladle (176065b); f, snow knife (176064b); g, snow knife (176064a). Neg. no. 112419.



FIG. 16. a, water bag (176030); b, bag (178157); c, bag (178146); d, blubber pounder (176061); e, bag (178158); f, bag (178155). Neg. no. 112420.

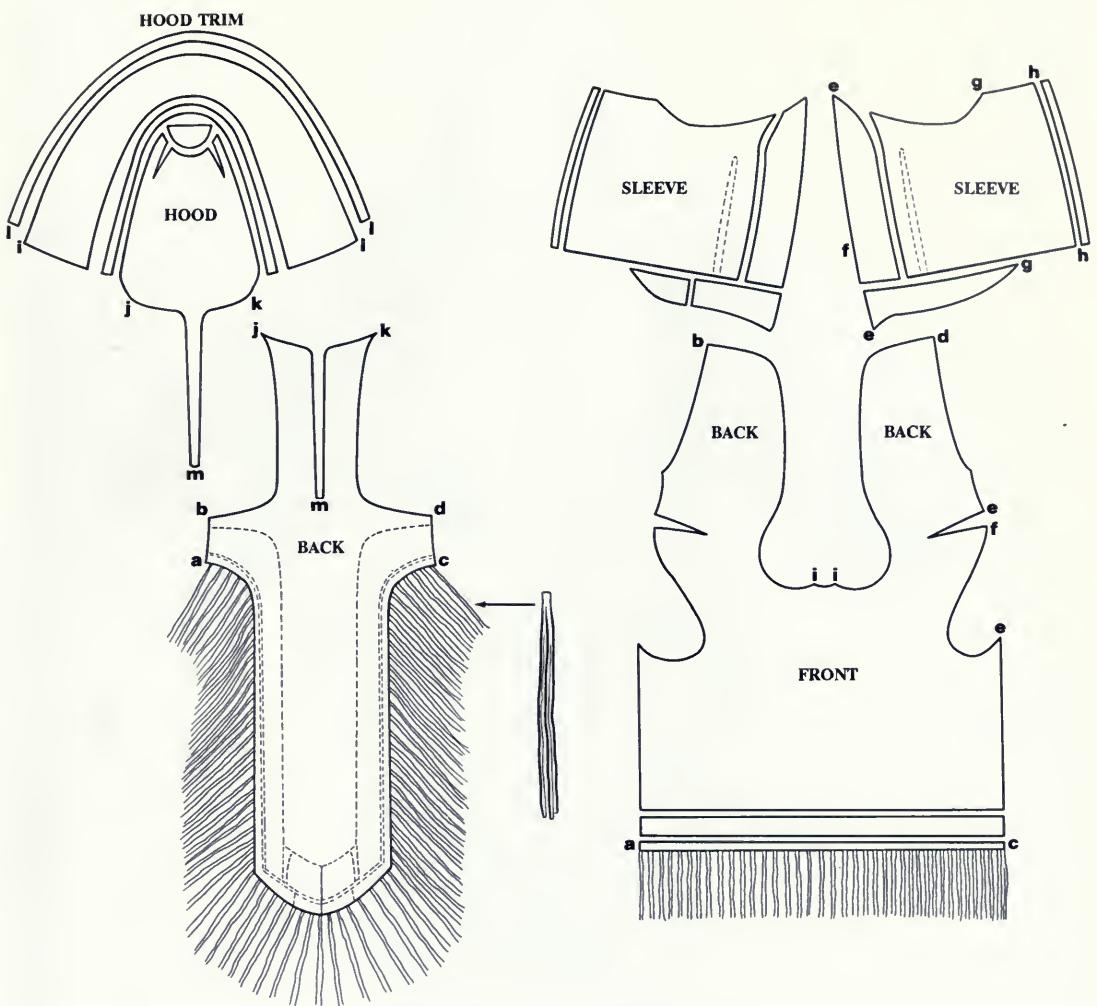


FIG. 17. Man's outer parka (176004).



FIG. 18. Man's outer parka, front (176004). Neg. no. 112442.



FIG. 19. Man's outer parka, back (176004). Neg. no. 112441.

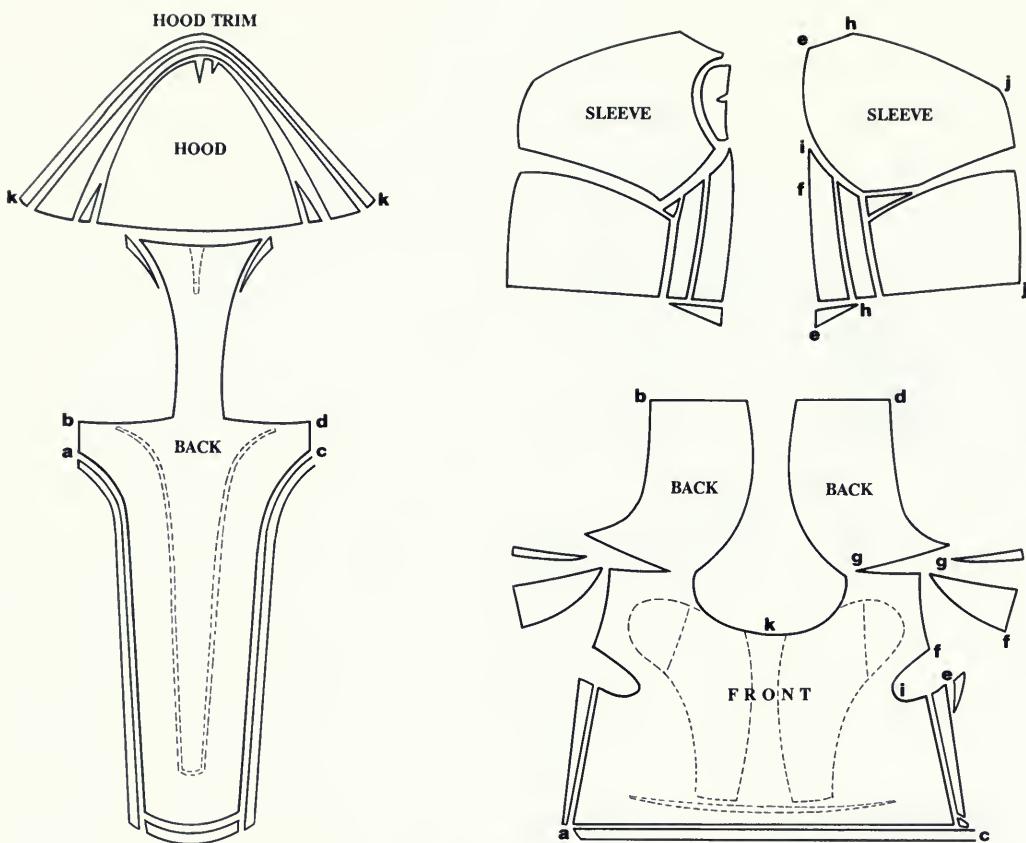


FIG. 20. Man's outer parka (176003).



FIG. 21. Man's outer parka, front (176003). Neg. no. 112440.



FIG. 22. Man's outer parka, back (176003). Neg. no. 112439.

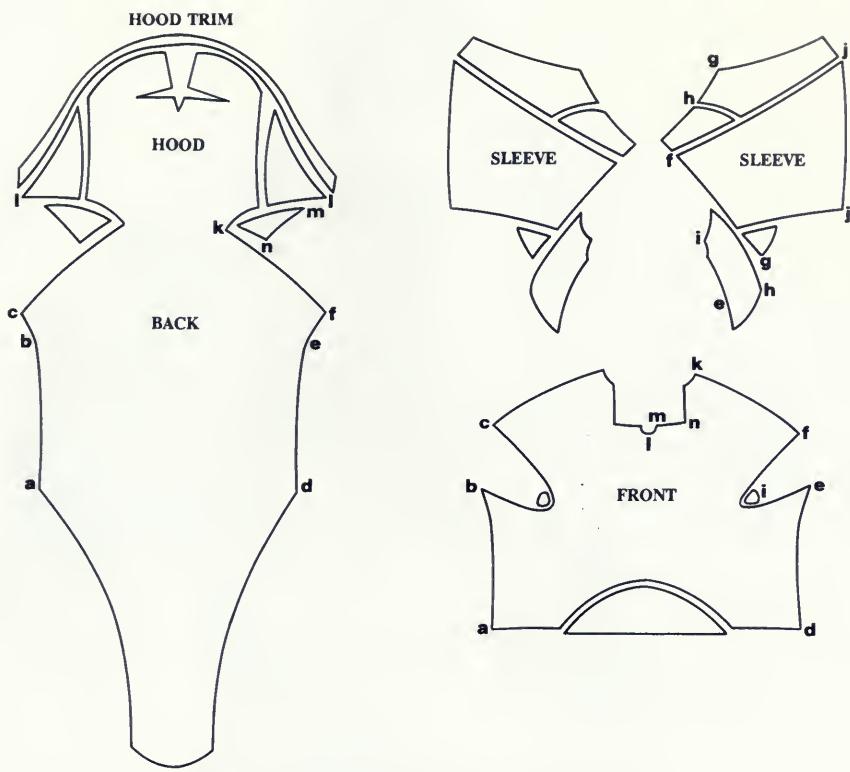


FIG. 23. Man's outer (inner?) parka (176007).



FIG. 24. Man's outer (inner?) parka (176007). Neg. no. 112438.



FIG. 25. Man's overcoat (176006). Neg. no. 112437.



FIG. 26. Man's outer trousers (176005). Neg. no. 112413.



FIG. 27. Man's outer trousers (178150). Neg. no. 112416.



FIG. 28. a, man's outer stockings (176014a-b); b, sock (178154). Neg. no. 112415.



FIG. 29. Man's dance stockings (176016a-b). Neg. no. 112412.



FIG. 30. Man's spring and fall boots (176015a-b). Neg. no. 112411.

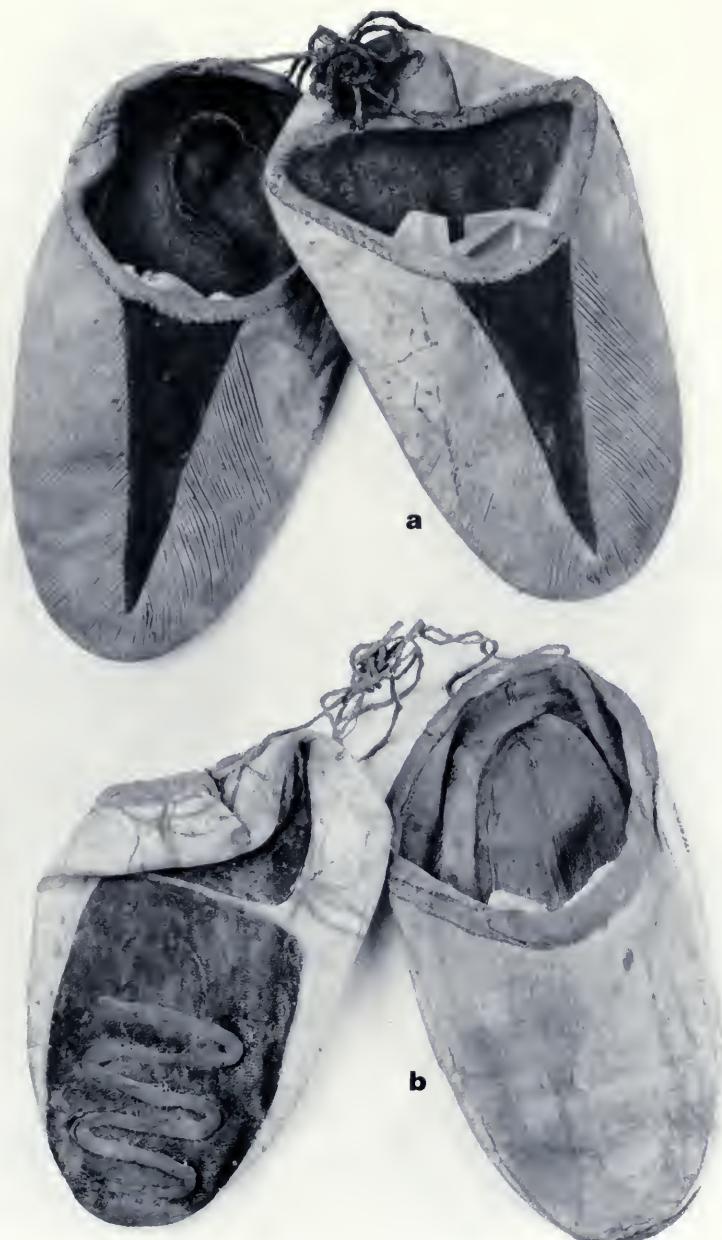


FIG. 31. **a**, sealskin shoes, type 2 (176018a-b); **b**, sealskin shoes, type 1 (176019a-b). Neg. no. 112417.

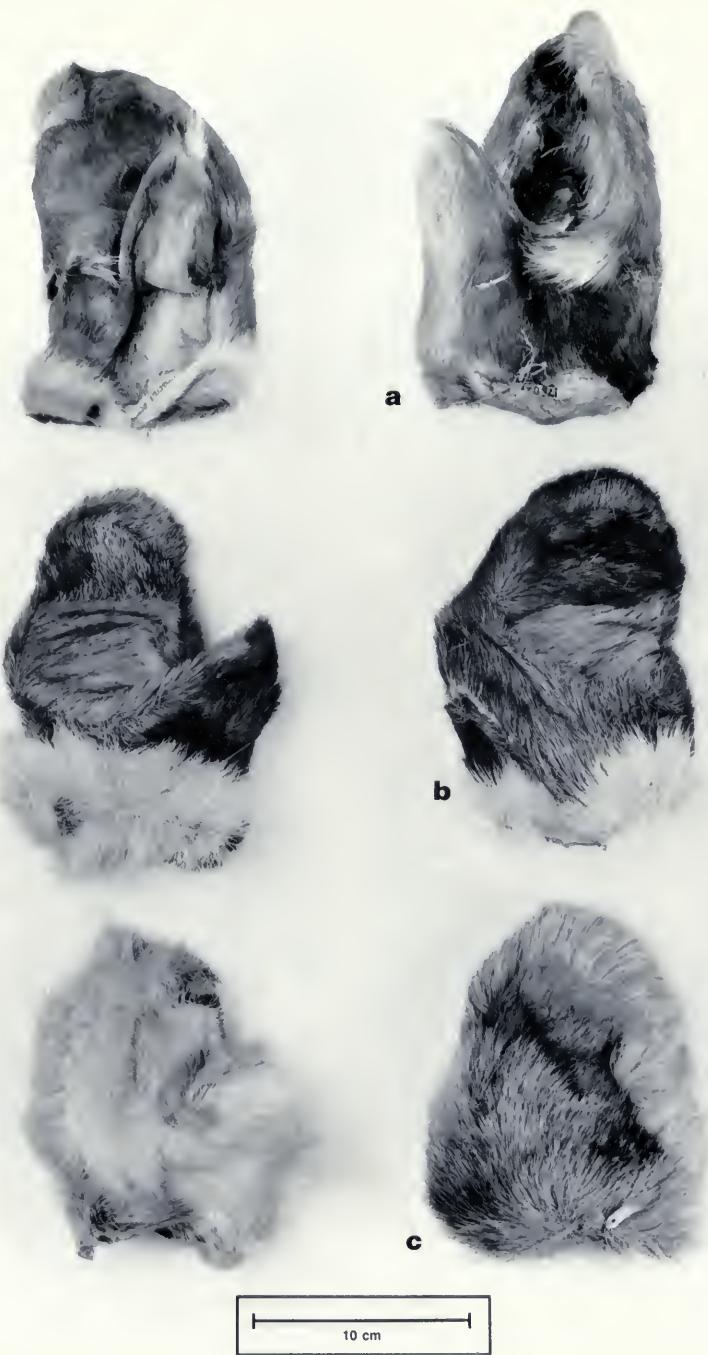


FIG. 32. a, mittens, type 1 (176021a-b); b, mittens, type 2 (176023a-b); c, mittens, type 1 (176024a-b). Neg. no. 112414.

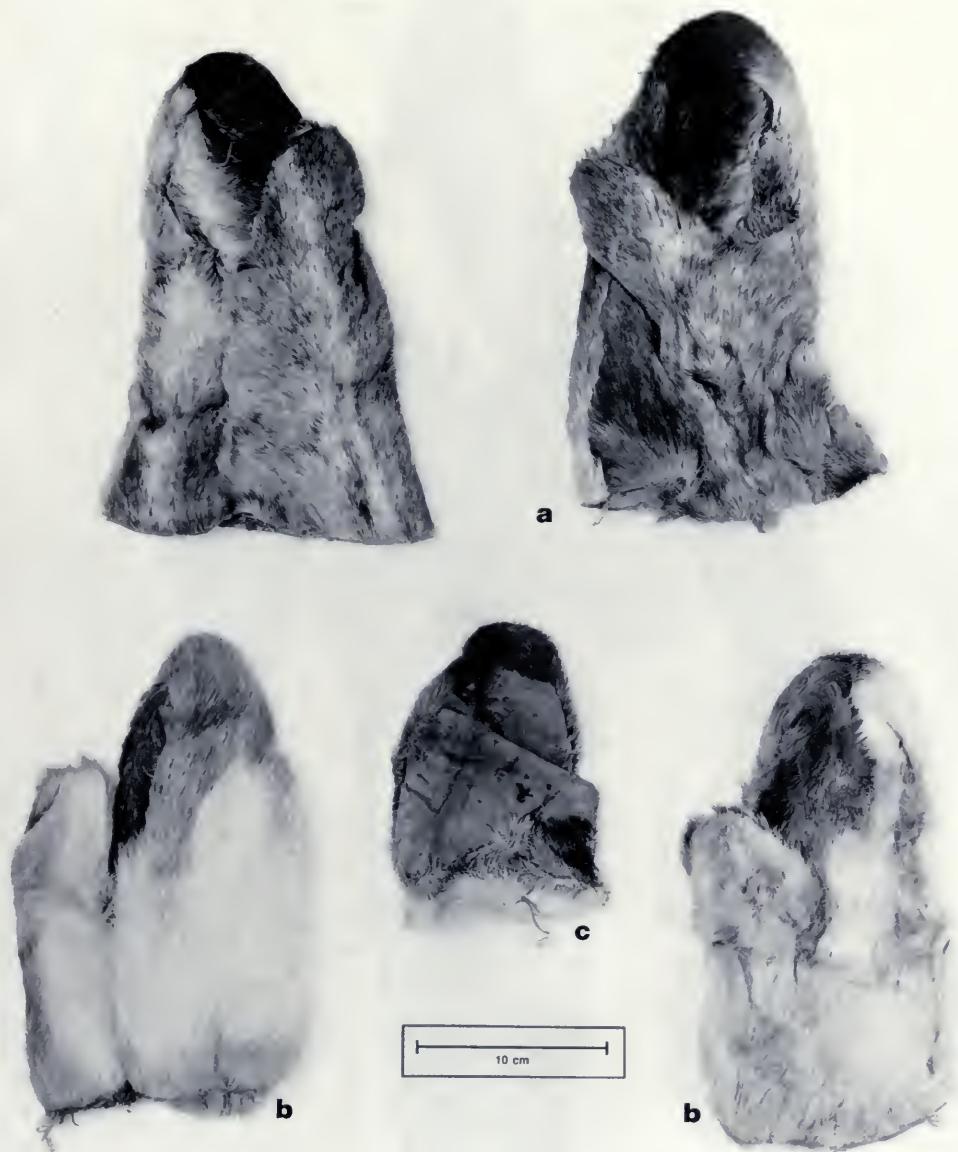


FIG. 33. a, mittens, type 2 (176026a-b); b, mittens, type 2 (176022a-b); c, mitten, type 1 (176025a). Neg. no. 112410.

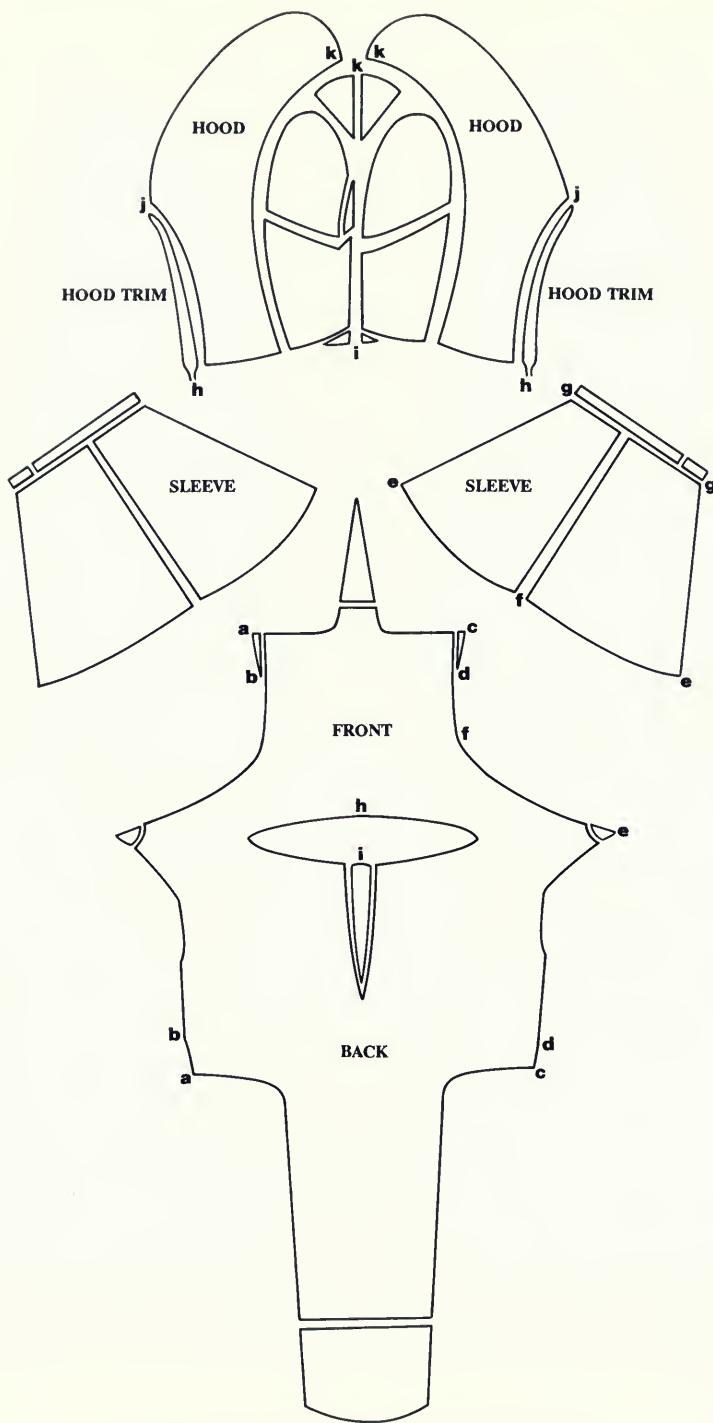


FIG. 34. Woman's outer (inner?) parka (176001).



FIG. 35. Woman's outer (inner?) parka (176001). Neg. no. 112436.

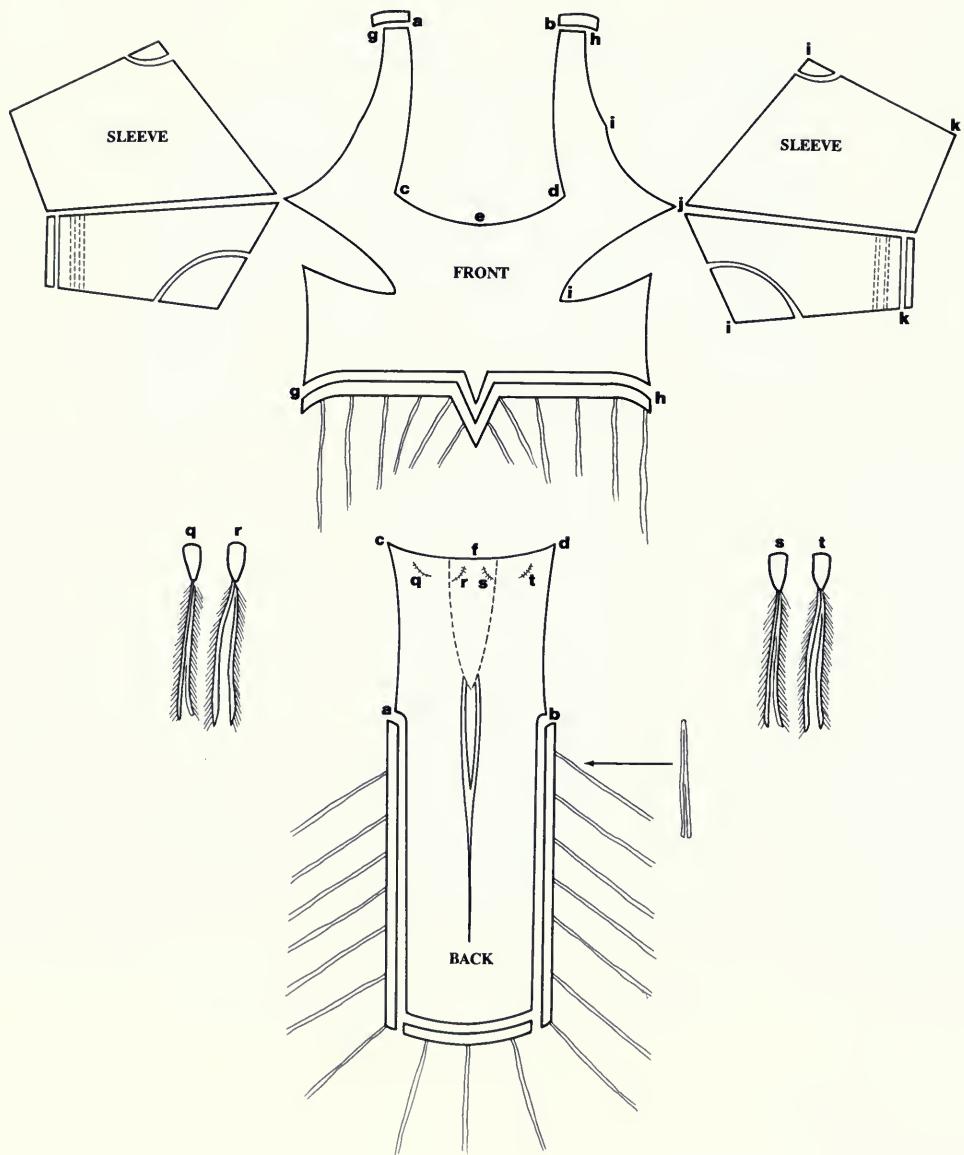
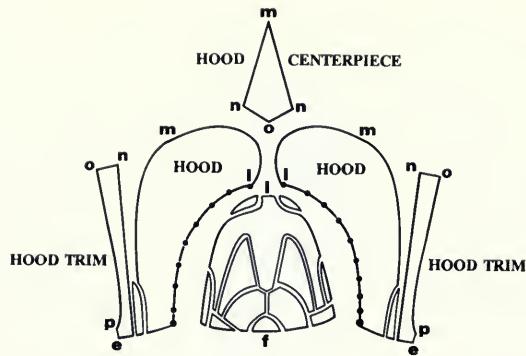




FIG. 37. Woman's outer parka, front (176002). Neg. no. 112435.

← FIG. 36. Woman's outer parka (176002).



FIG. 38. Woman's outer parka, back (176002). Neg. no. 112434.

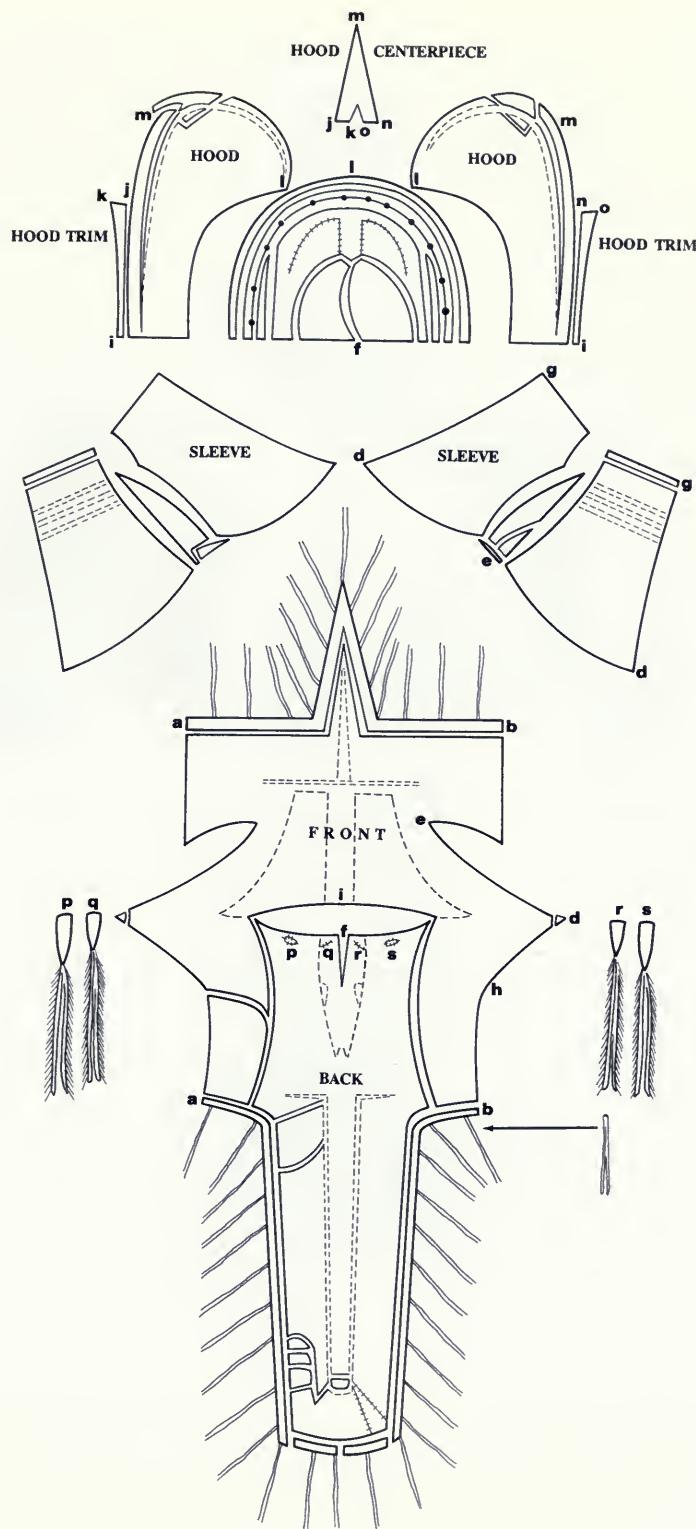


FIG. 39. Woman's outer parka (176010).



FIG. 40. Woman's outer parka, front (176010). Neg. no. 112433.



FIG. 41. Woman's outer parka, back (176010). Neg. no. 112432.



FIG. 42. Woman's outer trousers (178149). Neg. no. 112418.



FIG. 43. Woman's inner (?) stockings (176011a-b). Neg. no. 112409.



FIG. 44. a, sled toggle (176028a); b, comb (178140); c, bag for sled toggle (176028b); d, doll (176031); e, musk ox horn (176062); f, loon's head pendant (176017); g, ring and pin game (178138); h, doll's stocking (178131); i, doll (178147). Neg. no. 112443.

## Appendix

### The Noice Copper Inuit Collection (Accession 1628)

Following is a list of the Noice Copper Inuit collection described in this study. It is not a complete list of the collection as it appears in the catalog of the Department of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, since ten artifacts represented by eight catalog numbers could not be located. The Noice collection was originally cataloged by someone with minimal knowledge of Inuit material culture, possibly using identifications provided by John G. Worth, the dealer from whom it was purchased. Therefore, the identifications given here differ considerably from those in the catalog.

### SUBSISTENCE

#### *Land Hunting*

176038i	composite bow
176039b	composite bow (fig. 2b)
176040a	composite bow (fig. 2a)
176038b-h	arrows (7) (fig. 2d,g)
176039c-e	arrows (3) (fig. 2c,e,f)
176040b-g	arrows (6)
no number	arrows (2)
176045a-n	arrow shaft fragments (14)
176043a-h	arrowheads (8) (fig. 3a-c)
176044a-f	arrowheads (6) (fig. 3d-f)
176038	bow case and quiver (fig. 4)
173039	bow case and quiver
176040	bow case and quiver
176063a-c	bow case handles (fig. 3l)
178145	thumb guard (fig. 3i)
176052a-b	marlin spikes (fig. 3k)
176052c-d	sinew twisters (fig. 3h)
176053a-b	marlin spikes
176053c-d	sinew twisters (fig. 3g,j)
176054a-b	marlin spikes (fig. 5e)
176054c-d	sinew twisters
176055a-b	marlin spikes (fig. 5h)
176055c-d	sinew twisters
176066a-b	marlin spikes
176075	lance blade (fig. 5c)

176093	arrow shaft straightener (fig. 5d)
176094	arrow shaft straightener
176057a-b	bone pins
176058a-b	bone pins
176059a-b	bone pins (fig. 5f)
176092a-c	handles for carrying blood bags (fig. 5a)
176032	bolas (fig. 5b)
176072	drinking tube (fig. 5g)

#### *Sea Hunting*

178148	harpoon head (fig. 6f)
176060a-h	“unfinished harpoon heads” (fig. 6e)
176098a-b	bag with harpoon head (fig. 7)
176097	ice pick (fig. 8f)
176048a-b	breathing hole scoops (fig. 6a-b)
176037	swivel for leading a dog (fig. 8c)
176056a-e	seal indicators (fig. 9g)
176099a-d	seal hooks and bag (fig. 6c-d,g)

#### *Fishing*

176041	trident leister (fig. 8b)
176042	trident leister (fig. 8a)
176046a-c	trident leister and side prongs (fig. 9c)
176049a-c	trident leister center and side prongs (fig. 9d-e)
176070a-b	leister side prongs (fig. 8g)
176029	fishing rod and lurehook (fig. 9a)
178134a-c	fish hooks (figs. 8d, 9b,f)
176100	fish hook (fig. 8e)

#### TOOLS

##### *Women's Tools*

176082	woman's knife (fig. 10a)
176033b	skin scraper, type 1 (fig. 10b)
176033c	skin scraper, type 1 (fig. 10c)
176079	skin scraper, type 2 (fig. 11e)
176081	skin scraper, type 2 (fig. 10g)
176034	skin scraper, type 3 (fig. 10d)
176091	skin scraper handle (fig. 10e)
176068a-b	skin stretchers, type 1

178141	skin stretcher, type 1 (fig. 10i)	176065c	dipper or drinking ladle (fig. 15c)
176096	skin stretcher, type 2 (fig. 10h)	176064a	snow knife (fig. 15g)
178142	skin stretcher, type 2 (fig. 10f)	176064b	snow knife (fig. 15f)
176071	needle case (fig. 11f)	176030	water bag (fig. 16a)
176095	sewing outfit with marrow extractor (fig. 11j)	176036	clothing bag
176073	sewing outfit with belt toggle and threading needles (fig. 11a)	178157	tinder bag (?) (fig. 16b)
178143a–b	thimbles (fig. 11h)	178146	bag (fig. 16c)
176067a–c	marrow extractors (fig. 11b–d)	178155	bag (fig. 16f)
		178158	fragment of bag for oil or blubber (?) (fig. 16e)

### *Men's Tools*

176033a	crooked or whittling knife (fig. 12a)
176086	grooving tool (fig. 11g)
176087	grooving tool (fig. 13b)
176089	grooving tool (fig. 11i)
178144	grooving tool handle (fig. 13e)
176076	man's knife (fig. 13a)
176077	man's knife (fig. 13c)
176047a	drill bow
176047c	drill bow (fig. 13g)
176047b	drill shank (fig. 13f)
176047d	drill shank (fig. 13d)
176085	drill shank
176035	drill mouthpiece (fig. 12e)
176084	hand saw (fig. 12c)
176078	hand saw (fig. 12d)
176088	hand saw (fig. 12b)
176090	file (fig. 12f)
176051	adze (fig. 14b)
176080	adze head and blade (fig. 12g)
176050	pick (fig. 14a)
178152	tool bag (fig. 14d)
178153	tool bag
178151a	tool bag (fig. 14c)
178151b	tool bag (?)

### HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

178156	bird's foot bag (fig. 15a)
176069	oil lamp (fig. 15b)
176061	blubber pounder (fig. 16d)
176065a	dipper or drinking ladle (fig. 15d)
176065b	dipper or drinking ladle (fig. 15e)

### CLOTHING

#### *Men's Clothing*

176004	outer parka (figs. 17–19)
176003	outer parka (figs. 20–22)
176007	outer (inner?) parka (figs. 23–24)
176006	overcoat (fig. 25)
176005	outer trousers (fig. 26)
178150	outer trousers (fig. 27)
176014a–b	outer stockings (fig. 28a)
176016a–b	dance stockings (fig. 29)
178154	sock (fig. 28b)
176015a–b	spring and fall boots (fig. 30)
176019a–b	sealskin shoes, type 1 (fig. 31b)
176020a–b	sealskin shoes, type 1
176018a–b	sealskin shoes, type 2 (fig. 31a)
176021a–b	mittens, type 1 (fig. 32a)
176023a–b	mittens, type 1 (fig. 32b)
176024a–b	mittens, type 1 (fig. 32c)
176025a	mittens, type 1 (fig. 33c)
176025b	mittens, type 1
176027	mittens, type 1
176022a–b	mittens, type 2 (fig. 33b)
176026a–b	mittens, type 2 (fig. 33a)

#### *Women's Clothing*

176001	outer (inner?) parka (figs. 34–35)
176002	outer parka (figs. 36–38)
176010	outer parka (figs. 39–41)
178149	outer trousers (fig. 42)
176011a–b	inner stockings (fig. 43)

## MISCELLANEOUS

- 176031 female doll and doll's stocking (fig.  
44d,h)  
178147 female doll (fig. 44i)  
178138 ring and pin game (fig. 44g)  
178140 comb (fig. 44b)  
176028a-b sled toggle and container bag (fig.  
44a,c)  
176017 loon's head pendant (fig. 44f)

## RAW MATERIAL

- 176062 musk ox horn (fig. 44e)  
176074a-b musk ox horns  
178136a-b dried moss



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1. A Ceramic Collection from Northern Sikkim. By James W. VanStone. *Fieldiana: Anthropology*, n.s., no. 8, 1988, 67 pages, 50 illus.  
Publication 1261, \$10.00
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Publication 1403, \$11.00
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